DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 359 367 CE 063 993

AUTHOR	Taylor, Maurice, Ed.; Bedard, Rene, Ed.
TITLE	Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education. Proceedings of the Annual Conference (12th, Ottawa, Ontario, June 1993).
INSTITUTION	Ottawa Univ. (Ontario). Faculty of Education.
PUB DATE	Jun 93
NOTE	394p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Sylvie Lefrancois, 132 Victoria Avenue, Greenfield Park, Quebec J4V 1LB Canada ($30).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)
LANGUAGE	English; French
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Basic Education; *Adult Education; Andragogy; Apprenticeships; Articulation (Education); Canada Natives; Case Studies; Community Development; *Community Education; *Continuing Education; Distance Education; Educational Change; Educational Cooperation; Educational History; Educational Needs; Educational Practices; Educational Research; Foreign Countries; *Job Training; Labor Market; *Literacy Education; Models; Needs Assessment; Nursing Education; Program Development; Program Evaluation; Secondary Education; Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Canada; Netherlands

ABSTRACT

Selected papers from an adult education conference are as follows: "Learner Involvement in Literacy Education" (Acton et al.); "Faith in People" (Ambury et al.); "Beginning to Tutor Problem-Based Learning" (Ambury); "Exploring Literacy through Theatre" (Andruske); "Developing Learning Packages for Distance Continuing Nursing Education" (Beckingham et al.); "'Train the Trainer' Series for Nurse Educators" (Beckingham et al.); "Invisible Identity/ies" (Borg et al.); "Research Paradigms in Adult Education [AE]" (Briton); "Remapping AE" (Briton, Plumb); "Work, Workers, and Worker Education" (Brown et al.); "Labour Market Training" (Butterwick et al.); "Rural Learning" (Carley); "An Ethic of Care" (Carr); "Teaching and Learning across Our Historical Differences" (Chapman); "Using Responsive Evaluation to Discover and Respect Diversity in AE" (Chaytor); "Critical Philosophy-in-Action" (Chovanec, Scott); "New Prospects for Program Planning and Evaluation in Adult Continuing Education" (Collins); "Linking AE with K-12" (Collins, Hanson); "Community Development" (Cruikshank); "Historical Development of AE" (Draper); "Making Needs" (Davidson); "Who Knows? Who Says So? Who Decides?" (Dawson et al.); "Bridging the Cultural Gap" (Fisher-Brillinger, Cantrell); "Facilitating Andragogy" (Francis); "Learning in the Workplace" (Frattini); "A Tenant Association in Public Housing" (Geddis); "Dutch 'Pillarization'" (van Gent); "AE as a Maturing Field?" (Gillen); "Finding Our Voices, Telling Our Stories" (Hall et al.); "Tax, Lies and Videotape" (Hall et al.); "Vive la Difference" (Home); "AE and Workplace Learning" (Hommen et al.); "Transformation of Consciousness" (Karpiak); "Is It Realistic to Expect an Adult Educator to Seek Collaboration among a Group Holding Diverse Perspectives?" (Knox); "Working across Our Differences in Community Based Literacy Education" (Leclair);

"Women's Learning in Three Contexts" (MacKeracher et al.); "Human Resources Think for Themselves" (Martin, Ketwaroo-Nanoo); "A Model for Continuing Education Participation among Members of Selected Professions" (Matthias); "Comparative AE" (Mlozi, Hian); "From Preacher to Politician" (Oussoren); "Time and Space in AE" (Plumb); "Making Sense of Change in an Increasingly Diverse Workplace" (Pitters, Muzumdar); "Recovering Community in the Adult Education Movement" (Pyrch); "The Stories We Are" (Randall); "A Feminist Framework for Political Action on Peace and Global Transformation in Radical Adult Environmental Education" (Rosenberg); "Self-Surveillance and the Status of Women" (Schick); "Revisiting Theory and Practice" (Selman); "Labour and Educators Conference on SoliNet" (Spencer); "Literacy for Health and Human Development" (Taylor et al.); and "Canadian Pluralism and Dutch 'Pillarisation'" (Thomas). (MN)

****
*   Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made   *
*   from the original document.   *
****

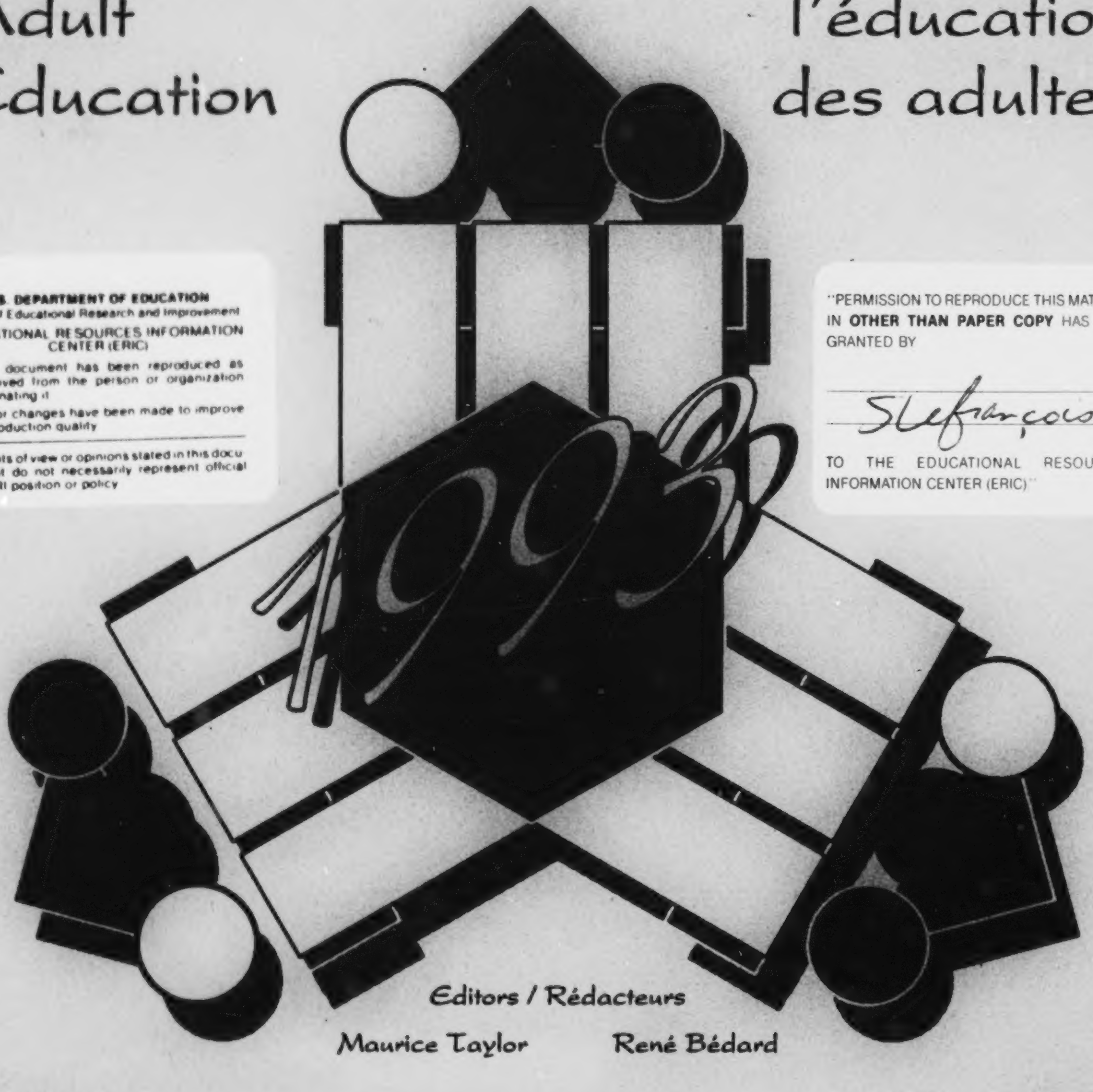
ED 359 367

Proceedings of the 12th Annual conference of

Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education

Les Actes du 12e Congrès Annuel

L'association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN **OTHER THAN PAPER COPY** HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

S Lefrançois

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)"

Editors / Rédacteurs

Maurice Taylor René Bédard

CE 063 593

Published by
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
June 1993

Publié par
Faculté d'éducation
Université d'Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario
Juin 1993

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

As the third world will also have to contend with the third wave, the importance of adult education takes on global proportions. The cover design attempts to reaffirm equal opportunity of education amongst adults around the globe.

La couverture tente de supporter la vision que, dans le contexte où le tiers monde devra faire face aux défis de la troisième vague, l'accès à l'éducation par les adultes prend une importance mondiale.

Cover designed by
F. J. Desjardins
M. Clément

Educational Technology Development Centre
Faculty of Education
University of Ottawa

Additional copies can be obtained from:
Sylvie Lefrançois
132 Victoria Ave.
Greenfield park, Québec
J4V 1L8
(514) 923-9666

$30.00 per copy

BIENVENUE AU CONGRÈS 1993 DE L'ACEEA

Il nous fait grandement plaisir de vous accueillir tous au congrès annuel de l'Association Canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes. Une bienvenue toute spéciale à Ottawa, notre capitale nationale, et à l'Université Carleton. Le congrès de cette année sera sans aucun doute très intéressant sous le thème général de **VIVRE NOS DIFFÉRENCES**. Environ 90 personnes seront directement impliquées dans différentes présentations. De plus, des présentations spéciales seront à l'ordre du jour. Ainsi, de concert avec la Fédération Canadienne des Sciences Sociales, il y aura une présentation intitulée "Social Ecology and the Challenge for Adult Education". De plus, conjointement avec la Société Canadienne pour l'Étude de l'Éducation, une présentation intitulée "An Exchange on Critical Pedagogy", sera au programme. Nous remercions tous et chacun d'entre vous pour les intéressantes suggestions et pour les différents sujets qui seront traités.

Nous remercions bien chaleureusement, le professeur René Bédard, de l'Université d'Ottawa, pour tout l'excellent travail accompli dans la préparation du programme du congrès de 1993. Le professeur Bédard était également responsable de la sélection des communications en français. De plus, nous félicitons le professeur Bédard pour la création de "l'espace francophone" à l'intérieur du congrès de cette année. Nous remercions aussi le professeur Maurice Taylor, de l'Université d'Ottawa qui a assisté le professeur Bédard et qui a coordonné la sélection des présentations en anglais pour le congrès de 1993. Nous vous souhaitons un excellent congrès 1993.

Budd Hall, président

WELCOME TO 1993 CASAE CONFERENCE

We are pleased to welcome each and everyone of you to our Annual Conference of CASAE, whose major theme is **LIVING ACROSS OUR DIFFERENCES**. A special welcome to Ottawa, our capital, and to the campus of Carleton University. This year's conference is a full and interesting one. There are over 90 persons involved directly in presentations of various kinds. In addition we have a number of special presentations in cooperation with the Social Science Federation of Canada (Social Ecology and the Challenge for Adult Education) and the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (An Exchange on Critical Pedagogy). We are grateful to each one of you for the many excellent suggestions and paper topics.

We are deeply grateful to professor René Bédard of the University of Ottawa for his competent and thorough work organizing this year's program. Professor Bédard has also been responsable for the selection of the French language papers and for the innovation of having an "Espace francophone" where all conference participants will have the chance to participate. We are grateful as well to his colleague professor Maurice Taylor who has assisted professor Bédard and who coordinated the selection of the English language papers. We hope you enjoy this year's conference.

Budd Hall, President

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION

ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

Board of Directors/Conseil d'administration 1992-1993

Executive/Exécutif

President/Président	Budd Hall
President Elect/Président élu	Mark Selman
Treasurer/Trésorier	Nicole Tremblay
Executive Assistant/Assistante executive	Sylvie Lefrançois
Consultants/Conseillères	Anne Bélanger and Bill Fallis

Regional Directors/Directeurs Régionaux

Atlantic/Atlantique	Don Chapman
Québec	Mohamed Hrimech
Ontario	Mel Matthias
Praires	Bruce Spencer
British Columbia/Columbie Britannique	Ian Hunt

Portfolio Co-ordinators/Coordonnateurs de Dossiers

Peace/Paix	Rose Dyson
Bilingualism/Bilinguisme	Christiane Roy
Women/Femmes	Dorothy MacKeracher
Professors/Professeur(e)s	Madeleine Blais
Students/Étudiant(e)s	Robert Edwards
International Relations/Relations internationales	Claude Touchette
History/Histoire	James Draper
Politics/Politique	Alan Thomas
Bulletin Editors/Rédacteurs du Bulletin	Ingrid Pipke and Paul Bouchard
Journal Editors/Rédacteurs de la revue	Adrian Blunt and Benoit Charbonneau
Book Review/Recension des livres	Michael Welton

1993 Conference Coordinators/Coordonnateur du Congrès de 1993

Conference Chair/Président du congrès	René Bédard
CASAE Planning Committee/ Comité organisateur de l'ACEEA	Maurice Taylor, Budd Hall, Nicole Tremblay
Paper Review Chairs/ Evaluation des communications	Maurice Taylor, René Bédard
Conference Proceedings/Actes du congrès	Maurice Taylor, René Bédard
Pre-conference/Pré-conférence	Madeleine Blais

Table of Contents

Table des Matières

Name	Title	Page
Acton, Rita Dyer, Pat Nesbit, Tom	**Symposium** - Learner Involvement in Literacy Education	1
Ambury, George Shrivastava, Ginny Shrivastava, Om	Faith in People: A Case Study of One Organization's Struggle with the Poor of North India to Empower and to Liberate Them	7
Ambury, George	Beginning to Tutor Problem-Based Learning: A Qualitative Investigation of Andragogy in Medical Curriculum Innovation	13
Andruske, Cynthia Lee	Exploring Literacy Through Theatre: The Impact of Performing on Literacy and Upgrading Students	19
Beckingham, A.C. Oates, M.J. Butson, T.	Developing Learning Packages for Distance Continuing Nursing Education: Learning in the Workplace	25
Beckingham, Ann C. Ritchie, Linda Morden, Pat	"Train the Trainer" Series for Nurse Educators - Process and Content Model	33
Borg, Carmel Camilleri, Jennifer Mayo, Peter	Invisible Identity/ies: A Proposal for the Provision of a Community Adult Education Programme among the Maltese in Metro Toronto	40
Briton, Derek	Research Paradigms in Adult Education: A Dialectical Account	48
Briton, Derek Plumb, Donovan	Remapping Adult Education: Post-Hegemonic Possibilities	54

Brown, Georgia Dawson, Jane Kastner, Andrea Nesbit, Tom	**Symposium** - Work, Workers and Worker Education: Key Issues for Adult Educators	60
Butterwick, Shauna Cohen, Marcy Hommen, Leif Rubenson, Kjell	**Symposium** - Labour Market Training: New Partnerships and the Struggle for Hegemony	66
Carley, Robert J.	Rural Learning: An Evaluation of an Adult Education Program in the Outports of Newfoundland	72
Carr, Camille Ann	An Ethic of Care: A Moral Dilemma for Lawyers	78
Chamberland, Estelle	Les difficultés d'apprentissage chez l'adulte : la perspective de l'apprenant	84
Chapman, Don	Teaching and Learning Across our Historical Differences: The Interprovincial Home for Young Women 1920 -1926	90
Chaytor, Kaireen	Using Responsive Evaluation to Discover and Respect Diversity in Adult Education	96
Chovanec, Donna M. Scott, Sue M.	Critical Philosophy-in-Action: Power and Praxis	102
Collins, Michael Hanson, Jody	New Prospects for Program Planning and Evaluation in Adult Continuing Education	108
Collins, Michael	Linking Adult Education with K-12: A Community Education Initiative on a Saskatchewan Reserve	114
Cruikshank, Jane	Community Development: An Approach for University Extension Practice	120
Draper, James A.	Historical Development of Adult Education: A Focus on Africa	126

Davidson, Howard S.	Making Needs: Toward a Historical Sociology of Needs and Needs Assessment in Adult and Continuing Education	131
Dawson, Jane Dyer, Pat Harper, Lyn Niks, Marina	**Symposium** - Who knows? Who says so? Who decides? Issues in Collaborative Research	137
Fisher-Brillinger, Margaret Cantrell, Debra	Bridging the Cultural Gap: Non-Aboriginal Adult Educators and Aboriginal Adult Learners	143
Francis, Barbara L.	Facilitating Andragogy: The Japanese Experience	149
Frattini, Corinna	**Poster** - A Total Quality Initiative Between Frontier College and CP Express and Transport	156
Geddis, Susan	A Tenant Association in Public Housing: Is it a Model for Community Development?	163
van Gent, Bastiaan	Dutch 'Pilarization': A Strategy for Multicultural Adult Education?	169
Gillen, Marie A.	Adult Education as a Maturing Field? Evidence from Citation Practices	173
Guindon, Michel	Les conséquences pour l'adulte du retour aux études en milieu universitaire et leurs variations selon les caractéristiques de l'adulte	179
Hall, Budd Dyson, Rose Fallis, Bill McQueen, William Snow, Judith	**Symposium** - Finding our Voices: Telling our Stories	185
Hall, Budd Burke, Bev Martin, D'Arcy Lundrigan, Marina Lewycky, Dennis	**Symposium** - Tax, Lies and Videotape: Reflections on Popular Education and the Ontario Fair Tax Commission	191

Home, Alice	Vive La Différence: Are Institutions Responding to Multiple Role Women's Learning Needs?	215
Hommen, Leif Nesbit, Tom Rubenson, Kjell	**Symposium** - Adult Education and Workplace Learning	221
Karpiak, Irene E.	Transformation of Consciousness	227
Knox, Margot	Is It Realistic to Expect an Adult Educator to Seek Collaboration Among a Group Holding Diverse Perspectives?	233
Labelle, Jean-Marie	Différences et réciprocité dans la relation éducative	239
Leclair, Shirley E.	Working Across Our Differences in Community Based Literacy Education	245
MacKeracher, Dorothy Wall, Margaret Doucet, Kim	**Symposium** - Women's Learning in Three Contexts	249
Martin, D'Arcy Ketwaroo-Nanoo, Mahadeo	Human Resources Think for Themselves	255
Matthias, M.R.	A Model for Continuing Education Participation Among Members of Selected Professions	266
Michaud, Claude	Dimension spirituelle de la personne et éducation des adultes	272
Mlozi, Malongo R.S. Hian, Chan Choon	Comparative Adult Education: Divergent Models and Practices - Case Studies of Tanzania and Singapore	283
Morin, Thérèse	L'éducation des adultes en mutation	289
Oussoren Jan	From Preacher to Politician: T.C. Douglas' Transition	295
Plumb, Donovan	Time and Space in Adult Education: The Dimensions of Domination and Resistance in Modern and Postmodern Times	301

Pitters, Marian Muzumdar, Pria	Making Sense of Change in an Increasingly Diverse Workplace	307
Pyrch, Timothy	Recovering Community in the Adult Education Movement	313
Randall, William	The Stories We Are: Exploring the Poetics of Self-Creation	319
Rosenberg, Dorothy	A Feminist Framework for Political Action on Peace and Global Transformation in Radical Adult Environmental Education	325
Schick, Carol	Self-Surveillance and the Status of Women	337
Selman, Mark Ross, Murray	**Symposium** - Revisiting Theory and Practice	343
Solar, Claudie	Vers une pédagogie inclusive	349
Solar, Claudie	Un outil de sensibilisation et de formation contre la discrimination : En toute égalité	351
Spencer, Bruce	Labour and Educators Conference on SoliNet: A Network for the Nineties?	355
Taylor, Maurice Hinds, Cora Rodney, Patricia	**Symposium** - Literacy for Health and Human Development: Strengthening the Links	362
Thomas, Alan M.	Canadian Pluralism and Dutch "Pillarisation" Part 2: A Canadian View	370
Tremblay, N. A. Hrimech, M. Cantin, H. Lauzon, N. Madgin, L.	**Symposium** - Analyse préliminaire des écrits sur l'autoformation en entreprise (1984-1992)	376

LEARNER INVOLVEMENT IN LITERACY EDUCATION

Rita Acton, Pat Dyer, Tom Nesbit
University of British Columbia

In this paper, we present a theoretical framework which clarifies the interests underlying differing views on learner involvement in literacy programs, and we highlight two examples of ways in which literacy education can be more participatory, in Canadian Native literacy education and numeracy.

Dans ce travail, nous offrons un cadre théorique qui clarifie les différentes philosophies sur la participation des apprenants dans les programmes d'alphabetisme. Aussi, nous présentons deux cas où cette éducation pourrait plus participative, l'éducation des autochtones et l'éducation des mathematiques.

Literacy education is a site of contestation. There are differing definitions of literacy and differing programs offered by various sectors in North America. All of these purport to address the needs of people who are illiterate but are based on very different ideas about learners and about the purposes of adult education. In this paper, we present a theoretical framework which clarifies the philosophies underlying competing views on learner involvement, and we highlight two examples of ways in which literacy education can be more participatory, Canadian Native literacy education and numeracy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK - Pat Dyer

There appear to be two opposing views of learners' capacities and needs in North American literacy education: the deficit model and the participatory model. "Public adult literacy policy is based on the assumption that low literates lack the skills and knowledge needed for functioning in mainstream society" (Beder, 1991, p. 139). This assumption, however, is not backed up by research about the realities of the people so described; for example, 40% of Canadian adults who have had less than nine grades of formal education had incomes above the national average in 1980 (Griffith, 1990). The deficit model is created by, and feeds, the "... very stigma which makes life success problematic" (Beder, p. 140) for those with low literacy levels. An alternative participatory literacy model is based on a respect for the cultures of illiterate adults and a respect for "the dignity and power of individuals through whose eyes the culture is viewed" (Fingeret, 1984, p. 14). Here, literacy learners share the power to discover their own learning goals and to "define, create, and maintain the program" (Fingeret, 1989, p. 5).

One can build a framework which makes connections between the above two models of learner involvement in literacy programs in North America, Habermas' conception of three basic human interests - technical, practical, and emancipatory (Kemmis, 1991), and differing conceptions of literacy - literacy as skills or tasks, literacy as practices, and literacy as critical reflection (Lytle and Wolfe, 1989). Recognizing the implications of usually unstated literacy program 'interests', enables an understanding of the differing views of learner involvement in literacy education, and forms a basis from which to work for more substantive learner participation.

In the last decade, adult education has taken a more critical turn with an increased awareness that the ways in which knowledge is defined are linked to societal worldviews and to interests, the "human social purposes that give direction for getting along in and transforming the lived-in world" (Cervero & Wilson, 1992, p. 27). These interests can be described as technical, practical and emancipatory and the educational values which they espouse can be explained by the metaphors which they use (Kemmis, 1991).

There are competing conceptions of literacy today. Lytle and Wolfe (1989) have collapsed multiple definitions of literacy into four broad categories "... in order to highlight some of the important debates and questions related to literacy acquisition, development, and use" (p. 7). I have combined their first two categories, "literacy as skills" and "literacy as tasks", into one concept, literacy as skills and tasks, which represents the equation of literacy with the acquisition of predetermined, hierarchical levels of performance in the mechanics and universally significant applications of reading and writing. "Literacy as practices" is a concept which acknowledges the uses of reading and writing "... for a wide variety of purposes and audiences and in diverse situations" depending on "... the particular economic and cultural patterns of a community" (p. 10). "Literacy as critical reflection" represents the concept of literacy as "... a process of developing a consciousness of commonly held values, behaviors, and beliefs as socially and culturally constructed" (p. 11).

To support the technical interests of a functionalist worldview, education is seen as an objective means to support a society which works at peak efficiency through the use of the best technology - education is for 'moulding' individuals for a given form of social life. In this technical interest, literacy is conceptualized as the attainment of proficiency in certain skills and tasks needed to achieve 'success' in society. The educational goals and goal paths of literacy education programs are set in advance by experts, an approach which builds on and sustains the deficit view of the needs and capacities of learners.

To support the practical interests of an interpretivist worldview, education is seen as a subjective developmental process which allows individuals to understand more about how the world can work for them in order to enable 'growth' in a meritocratic system. In this practical interest, literacy is conceptualized as the attainment of practices which are relevant to each person's context. The curriculum is built on individual interests, abilities, and goals. This approach can be guided by either a deficit model or a participatory model of learner needs and capacities or a mixture of both, as the learner may still be viewed as someone to be 'diagnosed' and 'treated' if traditional literacy practices are the guiding paradigm.

To support the emancipatory interests of a radical humanist worldview, education is seen as a dialectical process of reflection and action undertaken by previously marginalized individuals to collectively produce 'empowering' forms of education. Learners have a voice in creating 'useful knowledge'. They work together to transform existing forms of social life through action. Here, literacy is conceptualized as critical reflection and action, and the focus is on goals and goal paths that arise from a group of learners in a community-based, participatory project. There may be a paradox in this approach as, "when given the choice, learners seem to prefer traditional literacy models designed to provide secondary school certification as rapidly and efficiently as possible" (Beder, p. 141). In my view, however, the deficit orientation of the traditional model can be countered with a commitment to build learner participation through such structures as learner positions in instruction, program management, and governance, and through ongoing evaluation processes designed to ensure that learners will have a voice in all aspects of the program.

The framework outlined above provides a means to recognise the usually unstated human interests which lie behind literacy education policy and programs. An awareness of the implications of these interests enables us to understand the differing views of learner involvement in literacy education and forms a basis from which to work for more substantive learner participation.

CANADIAN NATIVE LITERACY EDUCATION - Rita Acton

Learner involvement is central to both Canadian Native literacy education and Freire's literacy model (Freire, 1970). I compare aspects of the theoretical frameworks of Native literacy programs, Freire's model of literacy education, and a personal experience of a university Cross Cultural Studies class with emphasis on First Nations' issues.

A holistic approach to education is a critical component of both Native culture and Freire's work. In Native education, this approach builds a strong relationship between learners' cultural environments and the classroom environment. Native education assumes that the learners come to class expecting to participate in activities which draw on their culture and on their life experience, their hearts as well as their minds. Examples from my university class experience included the sharing of stories and the exchanging of items relevant to our cultural identities. The instructor named each Friday Cultural Day, a designation which may seem trivial according to Western thought but provided an appropriate learning opportunity in the context of the First Nations' class. Each Friday was a celebration of the similarities and differences shared by the many cultures represented in the class.

The curriculum in Native literacy programs is planned cooperatively. Similarly, Freire's literacy model cautions against imposing a predetermined plan or model on people. Moriarity and Wallerstein (1980) claim that Freire's method stands out as one of the few teaching strategies developed for use with adults, because in this method all participants are peers, and anyone can take charge of the process to make a point. My First Nations' class challenged my traditional expectations of the classroom. I expected to meet a predetermined set of objectives. Instead, the format of the class encouraged a collaborative process, where each student identified why they took the class, and what they hoped to gain from participating in it. The instructor wove our individual responses into topics (such as residential schools, racism, research methodology, Elders, and First Nations' languages) for discussion throughout the eight month course.

Some may argue that creating an educational environment where all participants are peers may be more difficult in formal institutional settings than in community learning centers or sharing circles. (Sharing circles are a traditional way of talking in Native culture where one person speaks at a time and others do not interrupt.) Contrary to the usual experience in university classes but following the tradition of sharing circles, the teacher participated as a peer in my university class. All class members had an equal voice in deciding what direction the course would take. The members of the class generated an ongoing dialogue where ideas were valued and included as part of the class discussions.

Both Native literacy programs and Freire's approach to teaching share the belief that without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education. This dialogue, however, cannot occur unless the interaction between teachers and students is based on equality. Native literacy education develops a classroom culture through dialogue. Dialogue encourages many shared perspectives rather than the one perspective held by the teacher alone. Similarly, in our class, there was an inclusion of a multiplicity of voices for purposes of reaching a better understanding of our cultural selves. An outcome for me was that I formed positive relationships will have a lasting impact on my interactions with First Nations' people.

Native literacy programs and Freire's literacy model can be seen as examples of education which are built on learner participation. The learning experience in Native literacy programs is shaped by the students' experiences, background and concerns. Content used in Native literacy education is "real and relevant to the student, and literacy skills are tools to be used by people in shaping their own world, and are not an end in themselves" (Post-Secondary Department, 1984, p. 32).

As a minority participant in the First Nations' class, my cultural identity was both valued and integrated into the class discussions. When I began the course, I expected to be taught the 'correct answers' pertaining to First Nations' issues. Instead, each of our voices shaped the course's curriculum. Our participation was not expected to conform to a predetermined set of criteria. Instead, we worked toward an awareness and understanding of our cultural identities and an appreciation of First Nations' people. We learned to value our individual histories, trust our own ideas, listen to one another's perspectives, and respect each other. In my view, this experience in learner involvement was one of the greatest learning tools of the class. It taught me the value of participation as an equal and I intend to follow this example in my own work as a researcher and educator.

NUMERACY - Tom Nesbit

Over the last decade there has been an increasing realization that math illiteracy (or 'innumeracy') is a problem affecting many adults in North America. Adults' lack of understanding of math concepts and their applications restricts achievement by affecting access to further education, job selection, career advancement, and ability to respond to changing workplace requirements (Handler, 1990). As with illiteracy, innumeracy is psychologically disabling, diminishing self-esteem and people's confidence in their constructive skills and critical insights.

To deal with the prevalence of innumeracy, many adult literacy programs have incorporated numeracy components. However, in many programs, literacy and numeracy are addressed in different ways. Numeracy, in particular, is regarded as the technical acquisition of a pre-determined set of basic skills and decontextualized knowledge. As it is currently practiced, numeracy education for adults follows roughly the same abstract and individually-focused curricula as the very school math programs that failed learners in the first place, with their concentration on rote memorization of theories and formulae, relentless calculations, the primacy of the correct solution, and constant testing. In addition, adult numeracy programs are often taught by people with little or no math training, use pre-packaged and child-oriented materials, and require little participation by learners in their objective-setting, curriculum design, or evaluation.

Traditional methods of teaching present mathematics as a one-way transmission of knowledge from teachers to students. These approaches portray mathematics as unrelated collections of facts and answers and convince learners first, that they are stupid and inferior because they can't do sums; second, that they have no knowledge to share with others; and third, that they are cheating if they work with others. 'Knowledge' is seen as separate from the learners' thought processes, and education is experienced as a static, rather than a dynamic, process.

There is much evidence that these prevailing teaching methodologies particularly discourage women, members of ethnic minorities, and the working class from learning mathematics. In fact, these practices seem designed to socialize people into accepting the broad values of society and to reproduce the existing economic, status, and power hierarchies. Frankenstein (1981) identifies how different groups are more affected than others:

> Sexual stereotyping leads many women to believe that learning mathematics undermines their femininity; intellectual stereotyping leads many people to believe that learning math is too hard for them; meaningless, boring school work serves to prepare people for meaningless, boring jobs. (p. 10)

In order for mathematics to be perceived as useful, adult learners need to be able to use and understand mathematical techniques and be able to critically relate this understanding to their own everyday experiences. Adult numeracy programs could be based on a more democratic and participatory philosophy that acknowledges the social realities in which people live. Practices in such programs would recognize that education is never neutral and that thinking and knowing are dependent on history and culture. Knowledge of basic numerical and statistical concepts could become important not merely as a part of what is to be learned for a test or for understanding the logic of math, but also as part of an attempt by adults to make their individual and collective lives more meaningful.

Finally, a participatory approach to numeracy education must include collective working. By working with others, students can begin to break the pattern of competition which traditional schooling tends to encourage. By participating, sharing approaches and solutions, evaluating different problem solving techniques, and analyzing and learning from each other's mistakes rather than competing, learners can shed the assumptions that they know nothing and have little to contribute. Small group and class discussions which use math to analyze complex issues can increase adult learners' intellectual self-image and challenge "the dominant society's view that the intellectual activity of those without power is always characterized as non-intellectual" (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p. 127).

Despite the importance of mathematics in our rapidly developing technological world, most people are cut off from using and controlling the quantitative tools that help shape their lives. Teaching people to question and to doubt, to argue and to experiment, and to be critical of existing beliefs and ideologies aids the process of social change. A participatory approach to numeracy would ensure that mathematics education was part of such a process.

REFERENCES

Beder, H. (1991). Adult literacy: Issues for policy and practice. Malabar, Florida: Krieger Publishing Co.

Cervero, R. & Wilson, A.L. (1992). The centrality of negotiating interests in adult education program planning practice. Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings. Saskatoon, Sask., Canada.

Fingeret, A. (1984). Adult literacy education: Current and future directions. Columbus, OH: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education.

Fingeret, H.A. (1989). The social and historical context of participatory literacy education. In A.H. Fingeret & P. Jurmo (Eds.), Participatory literacy education (pp. 5-15). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Frankenstein, M. (1981). A different third "R": radical math. Boston: Radical Teacher, 20, 10-14.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Geneva: World Council of Churches.

Freire, P. and Macedo, D. (1987). Literacy: Reading the word and the world. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Handler, J. (1990). Math anxiety in adult learning. Adult Learning, 1, 7, 20-23.

Griffith, W. (1990). Beyond the mythical rhetoric. In T. Valentine (Ed.), Beyond the rhetoric: Fundamental issues in adult literacy education (Symposium Version) (pp. 53-79). Athens, GA: University of Georgia, Department of adult Education.

Kemmis, S. (1991). Critical education research. The Canadian Journal of Adult Education, V (Special Issue).

Lytle, S. L. & Wolfe, M. (1989). Adult literacy education: Program evaluation and learner assessment. Columbus, Ohio: ERIC Clearinghouse on adult, Career & Vocational Education.

Moriarity, P. & Wallerstein, N. (1980). By teaching we can learn: Freire process for teachers. California Journal of Teacher Education, Winter, 39-46.

Post-Secondary Department, Curriculum development Branch (1984). Native literacy and life skills curriculum guidelines: A resource book for Adult Basic Education. B.C.: Ministry of Education.

Faith in People: A Case Study of One Organization's Struggle with the Poor of North India to Empower and to Liberate Them

George Ambury, Faculty of Education, Queen's University
in association with Ginny & Om Shrivastava[1]

> **"A small [person] requires a small programme which they can understand and feel about and then assimilate its benefits" (Sharma, 1989, p.268).**

Résumé

Une étude de cas d'Astha (Confiance au peuple) vérifie les moyens qu'un organisme de l'extérieur peut utiliser pour aider les pauvres à rehausser leur capacité de s'aider eux-mêmes de façon soutenue. Cette étude inclut un regard sur le mouvement des ONG des Indes ainsi que trois vignettes qui présentent l'action prise auprès des aborigènes (les tribus), les pauvres des régions rurales et les femmes.

Abstract

A case study of Astha (Faith in People) examines the possibility of an outside organization's working successfully with the poor in order to enhance their ability to help themselves in lasting ways. The NGO movement in India is examined and three vignettes presented of action with aboriginal (tribal) people the rural poor and women.

India not only has the problems of severely limited economic resources but, also, has one of the world's most diverse populations; ethnic, cultural, religious and tribal. In spite of the massive efforts at literacy training and development activities, the problems continue for many. The most severely affected are some of the indigenous groups (Scheduled Tribals) and women in poverty. Out of my reading, talking and personal involvement a question arose. **Given the incredible variety, complexity and severity of the problems being faced by people in India, is it possible to find educational and social alternatives that will enhance people's ability to help themselves in a lasting and sustainable way?** A non-governmental organization (NGO), Astha Sansthan, has a reputation of providing valuable leadership in its work with aboriginal people and village poor (especially women) in the state of Rajasthan. This somewhat unique organization, with some of its roots in Canada, provided a setting for exploring this question.

The method of investigation was to visit various Astha sites and events, attend meetings, interview staff, participate in a demonstration and collect documentary material. That is, to try, as a foreigner, to live the Astha experience. Critical reflection on the data was assisted by visits of whom is Indian and the other Canadian). At this stage, to use an archaeological metaphor, only the top layer has been uncovered but there is enough evidence to show that this will be an extraordinarily rich site for further study.

---

[1] The study was conducted in cooperation between us but it was not possible for Om & Ginny to attend and share in the actual presentation of the paper. For the writing of this paper, I take sole responsibility.

The purpose of the study was to tell the story of Astha, with its warts and weaknesses, in order to learn from its struggles to empower adults through facilitative learning. In order to help see Astha in context, a brief introduction to NGOs in India is provided followed by a discussion of its origin and activities. Three examples of the liberatory education work of the organization are given as examples of having faith in: aboriginal (tribal) people, rural poor, and village women. This study is seen as important because human emancipation is larger than any one country—we can and must learn from each other.

Background

The NGO Movement

Tandon (ca 1990) notes that voluntary organizations have been a part of the fabric of Indian life at least since the early years of the independence movement. Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam all advocate giving alms and support to the poor and Buddhism had within it a social change message. But Gandhi's strategy of working with the less fortunate began to replace the concept of doing token things for the poor. Stephen (interview, 1992) saw the significant increase in NGO activity as part of an international phenomenon in the seventies. In the universities there was an idealism to change the world fed by thinkers like Marx, Mao, Friere and concepts such as critical pedagogy, liberation theology, participatory research, community participation and popular education. In the northern hemisphere, the economy was buoyant but mass communication was beginning to open the eyes of the people to the North to the struggles of the people of the South. The Indian subcontinent provided a fertile ground for the growth of a variety of different approaches to non governmental outreach organizations (cf Tandon, ca 1990, pp. 7-10 for a taxonomy including the concept of empowerment).

However, the development ideology of the North is a constant challenge to the efforts of such movements. In order to fulfil the ideals of the northern nations of Europe and North America, money was poured into India and other, so called, underdeveloped countries in ever increasing amounts. Industrial development, mega projects, the green revolution something had to work. But in India the poor stayed poor and a few of the rich got richer. The concept of development, while enticing, is at odds with some of the deeper values of the Indian people. Gandhi, for one, knew that the European ideals were not sustainable. Once a journalist asked him whether he wanted India to have the same standard of living as the British. Gandhi replied, "To have its standard of living, a tiny country like Britain had to exploit half the globe. How many globes will a country like India need to exploit to have a similar standard of living?" (Bhasin, 1992, p.30). The contemporary NGO movement in India still owes much of its philosophy and value system to Gandhian thought. He was also an incarnation of education for liberation. "It is my duty [to help people learn], to place before the people all the legitimate remedies for grievances. A nation that wants to come into its own ought to know all the ways and means freedom. Usually they include violence as the last remedy. Satyagraha, on the other hand, is an absolutely non-violent weapon." (Gandhi, 1927, p.443).

Astha Sansthan

Astha began its work in September of 1986 with seven workers, all of whom had at least 10 years experience in working with the rural poor, and three other dedicated supporters (Anita Mathur, Bhawar Singh Chadana, Om Shrivastava, Ginny Shrivastava, Raghav Dutt, Nand Lal

Pande, Ashwani Paliwal, Arvind Bhatnager, Avdesh Kaushal and Rajesh Tandon). In their first report of activities they stated their guiding conviction.

> 'Astha' is a Hindi word meaning 'deep faith' or 'conviction in', and for us our faith is in the inherent strength and ability of the common men and women to work for their own development and the development of the nation We at Astha believe that poor people have the power to think and understand, but this power is hidden, and it can be released in a positive way to bring about a new society (Astha Sansthan, 1988, p. 1).

In the first two years some of the projects in which they were involved included: Leadership and Organizational camps, Issue Based Training, drought relief and training in drought issues, becoming a resource and training centre for government and NGO workers, leadership in establishing the Voluntary Action Network India (VANI), influencing state and national policy development and implementation. More recent activities have supported the rural poor in working on issues such as: forest products, the game sanctuary, a proposed cement factory, Mansi Wakel Dam, jewellery recovery, cash crops and employee rights. What follows are three vignettes illustrating different aspects of the work of Astha Sansthan.

Findings

Faith in Aboriginal People

It was an exciting moment to see a Tendu tree and meet some of the Bhil people who had struggled over its leaves. One of the minor forest products upon which many tribals depend for a cash income is this Tendu leaf. They are used as the outer wrapper for an inexpensive cigarette called a beedi. The leaves are picked during May and early June, mostly by tribals, and sold to commercial buyers at as small an amount as the market will bear. In Rajasthan these buyers, commonly called contractors, purchase the rights to the leaves in a designated portion (unit) of the Forest Department controlled land at public auction. These contractors then use the local people to do the picking for them. Since there are few opportunities for families in Kotra block to earn cash, the tendu leaf operation is of critical importance to the local economy. Here alone, about 40,000 people (66% women) are involved in this local industry. In 1989 the Tendu pickers were earning, on average, about Rs. 7 (35¢) for the 19 hours per day that it takes to pick, sort and deliver 100 bundles of the leaves. The legal minimum wage was Rs. 14 (70¢) for an 8 hour day. While the earnings may seem minuscule for the difficulty of the work involved, the meagre amount of cash is essential to the families. Nevertheless, in 1990, they agreed to strike and held out for 16 days by which time they were offered Rs. 13.50 to 15 per day.

That fall meetings were held to discuss struggle strategy for the 1991 year. It was decided to form a Tendu Leaf Collectors Cooperative. While the Rajasthan rate was officially raised to Rs. 20 per 100 bundles for 1991, studies conducted jointly by Astha and the Forest Department lead them to believe that a fair minimum payment for picking should be Rs. 52.25. Therefore, a new strategy was added to that of collective bargaining. Having registered as a cooperative they were able to borrow Rs. 17,00,000 from the Rajasthan Tribal Areas Development Cooperatives Federation at 6% interest. Following extensive lobbying, they managed to buy 2 Units at the January auction. After the season was over they found that they had made a net profit of Rs. 7,00,000 (≈$350,000). Some of this was given to members but most was invested in community projects.

With this success, other communities became interested and two other cooperatives were formed. At the beginning of the 1992 season there was high optimism. "Lobbying of the

Rajasthan Forest Department, Forest Secretary, Forest Minister and Chief Minister was successful in getting a notification reserving 6 units for the [three] cooperatives associated with the Rajasthan Tribal Areas Development Cooperatives Federation. The foot is in the door!!!" (Astha Sansthan, 1992, p. 9.). However, the picking and collecting did not go as well this year; the rains made for a short and late season and rain, hail and high winds damaged the leaves. Sales were slow in 1992 and by the fall they were still waiting to sell their crop. Further, the Federation decided to charge 35% interest which will cut into profits considerably.

Faith in the Rural Poor

An important form of investment and savings for Indian families has traditionally been the investment in the women's jewellery. It is the way women can maintain some economic control in their lives and feel a sense of self worth. When a family falls on difficult times, some of the jewellery often goes to a local money lender as collateral against a loan. Astha workers began to realize that many of the poor women were loosing this resource to unscrupulous lenders who would give as little money as possible, charge exorbitant interest rates and provide no receipt (Astha Sansthan, 1992). The problems of recovery seemed, at first, insurmountable in the Kotra area. Many of the loans had been taken out during the sever drought years of 1973-74, almost 17 years before. There were no official receipts. Women are largely illiterate (>98%) and could not calculate the interest even if they had been able to pay. For the individual women, the loans were for between Rs. 30 and Rs. 200 and had been used mostly for food, children's medicine, marriages and police bribes.

They began by gathering information. It was estimated that 350 kg of silver and five kg of gold had been given as security to 35 moneylenders and shopkeepers in two states and several districts in return for Rs. 17,500 (≈$ 875.45) in loans. The women estimated that the actual value would be more like Rs. 53,40,000 (≈$267,000.00). While the people wanted to get their jewellery back, it became clear that those holding the collateral would not want to give up such a profit, even when the interest was not calculated. Because the people were learning as they went along, there was no clear strategy of action and several approaches were tried.

First was group pressure. A group of 20 to 30 people would go to one money lender with five or so going into the shop to settle their loans. Those outside effectively blocked others from entering and were glad to tell bystanders why they were there. In spite of embarrassment and growing public pressure few cases were actually settled. All the more so because some offered to settle at a reduced rate of 72%. Pressure through the press was also attempted but the Udaipur paper was reluctant to do anything to offend the business community.

Next was an attempt to file criminal cases in the police stations but police were unwilling to become involved. Citizens have a right, if they feel that the police are not acting, to take a case directly to the Magistrate's Court. Eighty cases were filed simultaneously which prompted senior police officials to demand action from the local officers. As the Court began sending notices of the hearings, the money lenders began to take matters more seriously. They got together and approached the people's leaders with a proposal that they would drop the interest rate to 48% and return the jewellery. By this time it seems that the people were getting a sense of their own strength and they refused to settle.

They then moved up the government hierarchy to the senior administrator in the district with a request that he urge the Inspector of Money Lenders to investigate. Armed with the list of unlicensed operators and their illegal practices, he was able to begin a thorough investigation—an investigation that the money lenders certainly could ill afford to have proceed. Again, they got together and agreed on an acceptable formula with simple interest of between 24% for loans under five years up to 400% for loans over 14 years. The victory might seem small to a wealthy outsider but the issue was more than money. People won a new respect for themselves and their ability to act for their own justice.

Development? of Women

A headline in the Indian Express (Statutory Warning, 1992) says that "Being female is hazardous". From what one reads in the press, books and journal articles as well as what one hears from women themselves, women's issues are critical in the subcontinent. One of the few government sponsored thrusts in which Astha cooperates is the Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas project (supported by UNESCO). As part of this they have undertaken a series of consciousness raising and leadership training events in the state. The Mahila Sangam in which I participated brought together over 500 poor rural women, many of whom may never have left their villages before. All were poor, most illiterate and some did not speak Hindi. The meeting was held north of Udaipur near Shakpura at the Kasturba Gandhi Ashram. The first evening many were shy and quiet. Some were enticed into singing solidarity songs and dancing and all were assigned to groups to produce skits representing women's problems. By the second day they were enjoying doing the skits and were becoming more confident in the 16 discussion groups.

The participants were invited to articulate some of the problems which they faced at home. Some said their husbands were insensitive and cruel. "My husband says, 'Stand out in the sun all day,' and I stand there. I cannot move," said one. Others felt exploitation by business men. One said that she earns Rs. 16 for rolling 1,000 beedi cigarettes but the most she can roll in a day is 500. Others are feeling the pressure of smaller and smaller amounts of land as families grow. "We have enough to grow food for my husband and me but now we have two children. There is not enough." Various government officials were invited to speak and some women got up the courage to challenge even the local police superintendent. Another said to the local government representative, "You will write all these things down and then go away and forget us!"

While these three vignettes were chosen to show examples of the range of Astha's work through having faith in people and their ability to help themselves, one cannot help but notice the place of women in all of these descriptions. While other projects involve primarily men, it is the women who seem to be the key to sustained struggle and change. While the jewellery issue really affected the whole family, it was the women who took on the local financial structure and won. Most Tendu leaf pickers are women (66% in Rajasthan) earning cash for their families but it was found that they were the tough bargainers and enforcers of the strike. Shrivastava notes, "It is our experience that women are tougher than men in a Struggle Committee. Once they get something in their heads to do, they do not let anything come in the way of achieving it" (1992 p. 28).

Observations

In Astha I did find an organization that provided an exciting model of educational and social alternatives that do enhance people's ability to help themselves in lasting and sustainable ways. The road ahead holds many uncertainties, however. There may be dangers of hostility from other NGOs, politicians and business interests with their success. There is also a continuing need for shrewdness in business and politics; skills which NGO activists do not all have or utilize. Astha does not have the size and international visibility of large NGOs like BRAC (Bangladesh) or the Sarvodaya Movement (Sri Lanka) and could, therefore, be more vulnerable. Currently the staff have an amazing network of contacts in politics, the business community and police forces and show the determination and astuteness that holds promise of continuing success.

But direct hostility may not be the greatest danger facing liberatory movements in India. Here there is a growing new middle class with its priority on comfort and acquisition. They see themselves as apolitical and, by and large, do not know or care what is happening to the less fortunate. This could make financial and political support more uncertain. Another area of concern for many in India is the growing communal strife as religious rivalries are becoming more violent. I also notice that there is increasing pressure on the NGOs to offer government sponsored programs which may be in ideological opposition to the goals of the organizations. One facet of economic restructuring (under the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) which may be required of India would be the privatization of many social services. Who better to turn to then the NGO sector which could then be put to controlled use. NGOs will increasingly be tempted to become arms of the state and cease living as liberatory movements. Faith in people may sound good but it is not an approach that is seen as dealing with the foreign debt.

References

Astha Sansthan (1988). Astha: Just the beginning. A report of the initial two years. Udaipur, Rajasthan, India: Astha Sansthan.

Astha Sansthan (1992). Building on the base: Report of the work of Astha Sansthan, December 1989 - December 1991. Udaipur, Rajasthan, India: Astha Sansthan.

Bhasin, K. (1992). Alternative and sustainable development. Convergence. 25, (2), 26-35.

Gandhi, M. K. (1927). An autobiography or The story of my experiments with truth. Ahmedabad: Jitendra T. Desai.

Sharma, B. D. (1989). The web of poverty. Shillong, India: North-Eastern Hill University.

Shrivastava, G. (1992). Women and Tendu leaf collection: A case study from southern Rajasthan. Udaipur, Rajasthan, India: Astha.

Statutory Warning: Being female is hazardous. (1992, November 4). Indian Express.

Tandon, R. (ca 1990). NGO government relations: A source of life or a kiss of death? New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia.

Beginning to Tutor Problem-Based Learning: A Qualitative Investigation of Andragogy in Medical Curriculum Innovation[1]

George Ambury, Queen's University

Cette étude de cas reflète les perspectives des directeurs/directrices de petits groupes vis-à-vis l'implantation de cours fondés sur l'Apprentissage à base de questions à résoudre à l'intérieur d'une faculté de médicine. Les catégories de réactions étaient centrées sur: la qualité de la formation et l'appui administratif, l'expérience de l'apprentissage individualisé, les questions et idées qui en sont ressorties. La formation a été perçue comme étant très positive et plusieurs méthodes de faciliter l'apprentissage ont été utilisées. Les questions fréquentes incluaient: la clarifacation des buts, la formation continue et la supervision des pairs.

This case study reflects the perspective of tutors in the implementation of a Problem-Based Learning course in a faculty of medicine. Categories of response focused around: adequacy of training and administrative support, the experience of tutoring, and emergent issues and ideas. Training was seen as appropriate, administrative support was strong. The tutoring experience was largely positive with a wide variety of facilitative methods being used. Ongoing issues discussed include: clarifying goals, continuing training and peer supervision.

A frequent source of debate amongst adult educationalists, especially graduate students, is the appropriateness of the principles of learning associated with adult education to higher and professional education. The opportunity to investigate this phenomenon occurred when, in September, 1991, the Faculty of Medicine at Queen's University began implementation of its New Curriculum. A central component of which were the tutorial groups using a Problem-Based Learning (PBL) format. PBL, with its application of adult learning approaches and an emphasis on student self-directed learning and learning how to learn, was seen by some planners as central to the success of the New Curriculum. A review of current literature in medical education suggests a move toward what might be called andragogy, but in isolation from current research and knowledge in the field of adult education.

Over the years there have been many attempts to correct and improve approaches to medical education (cf. Bussigel, Barzansky & Greenholm; 1988). Problem-Based learning is one attempt to move from using basic sciences and organ systems as the organizing principle for the curriculum toward one that would be more clinically applicable in both the short and the long term. Silver & Wilkerson (1991) in researching the effects of tutors with subject expertise on the problem-based tutorial process reported the finding that the greater the level of expertise of the tutor in the topic under discussion the more the tutors talked, the more directive they were, and the more dependent the students seemed to become. Subject expertise seems to be a handicap to the tutor and to work against the development of self-directed learning skills in the students. The literature on medical curriculum innovation suggests that, while it is difficult to associate certain approaches with predictable success (Bussigel, Barzansky & Greenholm, 1988) staff training and development may be critical (Grand'Maison & Des Marchais, 1991; Walton & Matthews, 1989, p. 552).

---

[1] **I wish to acknowledge the support of Dr. Mike O'Connor and the tutors in the Faculty of Medicine as well as the inspiration and guidance of the late Dr. Barbara Mansfield in partnership with whom this study began.**

Walton & Matthews, reporting on a world conference on medical education, acknowledge that "There is no fixed agreement yet as to what does or does not constitute PBL" (1989, p. 542). PBL means different things to different people depending on the learning objectives and the skills of the tutor (cf. Barrow, 1986 for a taxonomy). While it is not possible to find a universal definition for PBL, a university document described it as follows:

> [It] is an alternative educational format that is centred around the discussion and learning that emanates from a clinically-based problem given to the students. It is a method of teaching and learning that encourages independent learning by students and gives students practice in tackling puzzling situations and defining their own gaps in understanding.... (Queen's University, 1991, p. 2).

The broad purpose of the study was to answer questions which were identified by the planners and tutors and to give a voice to the tutoring staff so that they could hear each other and be heard by others (a graduate student conducted a complementary study using student data). Based on the experience in the training sessions and discussions with the participants, it was agreed that three broad research questions needed to be addressed:

(1) How adequate were the support systems perceived to be from the tutors' perspectives?,
(2) What were the tutors' self-reported experiences in implementation of PBL? and
(3) What issues and ideas might tutors raise as important for future applications of PBL?

Method

This study was a problem-centred and action oriented qualitative investigation of the problems and questions which were identified by the tutors and planners (in discussion with the researcher). The tutors who were interviewed varied in their university teaching experience from one who had not (yet) taught to some who had been teaching for over 20 years. Current areas of practice or teaching were listed as: Psychiatry, Anaesthesiology, Emergency Medicine, Anatomy, Micro and Immunology, Otolaryngology and Plastic Surgery.

Formal data were gathered through participant observation field notes (training sessions and eight tutorial sessions), transcriptions of reflective, open ended interviews (nine of the 11 tutors plus the coordinator) and an examination of documentary evidence. These more formal forms of data were supplemented by chats with students, tutors and administrators and discussions with co-researchers.

Results

Training and Administrative Support Systems

Training for the conduct of the tutorial groups varied considerably between individuals. Most had a minimum of two, three-hour training sessions which included an explanation of PBL at Queens, how the university information systems worked and two periods of about 20 minutes each practice tutoring a group of students. While their formal training for PBL tutoring was short, most brought with them a wealth of related training and experience (at least two had studied psychiatry). Others had attended university or departmental workshops on teaching effectiveness, all had extensive experience in working with students and most with patients.

When asked about the adequacy of the training programme for tutors, most felt that it was about right. One participant would have liked more training "on the information gathering system", two would have liked more help on stimulating the group and three expressed concern about their being overly directive. Another noted that all are very busy in a variety of roles and the impression was that anything that demanded much more time would have excluded many potential tutors. One person noted,

> I think the nice thing about not too much formal training, is that everybody can be themselves with the group. Whereas if we had done more intensive training in group dynamics and group methods, then we get caught up in the process of what you're doing and you forget to relax and enjoy it.

The primary teaching resource in this form of PBL is the clinical issue (the Problem) which was presented in a written form to the students in two parts. When asked about the strengths and weaknesses in the Problems, answers varied from person to person but none faulted more than two. Even in these cases, Problems that were seen as weak by one tutor were seen as especially useful by another.

It was important to know how tutors saw administrative support as well. Some clinicians reported that they are not paid by the university to teach and PBL is over and above their normal workload. One person noted that people in some departments of the basic sciences would not get released time to do PBL tutoring and that their priority was research and protecting their grants. Nevertheless, only one participant seemed frustrated by lack of administrative support.

The Tutoring Experience

The interviewees were invited to reflect back on their experience of tutoring in the first offering of PBL with a view to both learning from the experience and offering ideas and suggestions for the future. Topics raised included: (1) what they felt about the experience, (2) how they had gone about conducting the tutorial sessions, (3) the place of content learning in PBL and (4) evaluation. Only the first two will be reported here. One might have expected that there would have been a self-selection process go on whereby only those who were enthusiastic supporters of PBL would have offered to teach. This does not appear to be the case. At least three had serious reservations about the usefulness of the approach. "I am [still] sceptical of all this (PBL teaching)", said one after the penultimate class. Yet all the tutors in this Phase reported enjoying the experience.

> From my point of view, it's fun talking to the students because they're so keen and they really appreciate it. When I went through medical school, there wasn't any of this stuff. It was all didactic lecturing, and what contact you did have with the staff then was almost intimidating.

Nevertheless, half of the participants expressed frustration and difficulty with adopting the role of facilitator, as they understood it, rather than expert teacher. One said,

> I'm still quite unhappy with it, because I have been *participating to some degree* (my emphasis), probably more than I should. The urge to get in there and say what's going on is almost unstoppable.

Others had found ways of adapting that appeared to be comfortable to them. One way was to see oneself as a member of the group with the same rights to speak as the others. Another was to "put on my expert hat for a few minutes." Most tutors were willing to stay after class where it was not uncommon to see them explaining an issue or talking on a theme to a rapt audience. However, in terms of meeting some of the soft objectives of the tutorials, most made comments that indicated that they would have agreed with the person who said,

> But in terms of establishing rapport among themselves, of sharing, or defining, and basically setting up a co-operative system in which they can rely on each other, and as well manage to get through the Problem, I think it's ideal.

I was also interested in learning techniques and approaches that seemed to establish a facilitative climate for learning. Three people mentioned role-playing the non-expert in an attempt to get the class to take responsibility for the conduct of the class (e.g. "I play a role which is not really a role, I'm just non-threatening. And that worked out"). One tutor who did not see himself as a clinical expert found it easier than some.

> For me there was no problem [giving over control of the group], I had no right answers, and I had no preconceptions. And so what I've done is I've gathered all of the handouts that they had, and it helped me because I learned an enormous amount.

Other approaches included the following.

> I guess it comes around with the kinds of questions you ask. I might say, What are the normal levels? Why is this significant? What does it mean if it's up by this amount?

> Sometimes they'll make an obvious error. But if you interrupt, you destroy the whole discussion. So I just make one-line little notes of things to remind them about or correct, and then when we're finished, or when there's a natural break, I have my little checklist .

As long as you don't put any road blocks in people's education, they will tend to do well

In summary, some of the facilitative techniques reported were to: be seen as a learner with the group, ask probing questions about their learning (rather than only about the case, per se), have members make charts and illustrations for the group to clarify concepts, not interrupt the flow of the group, be patient and willing to wait for students to learn on their own and, finally, "don't put up any road blocks".

Issues and Ideas

Because of the open ended nature of the reflective interviews, two topics emerged which had not been anticipated. The major concerns were about recruitment and the preferred background experience for tutors. The data suggest that recruitment for this first round was varied and that the reasons people gave for becoming involved was quite idiosyncratic. Two said that they had a little extra time which they were interested in spending with PBL. One department is particularly well represented, suggesting that word of mouth personal approaches may be effective in recruiting. A subjective impression is that those who tutored this round tended to be venturesome people who were willing to take chances with something new and were conscientious enough to make it work.

During the course of the investigation there were a number of conversations about the need for tutors to have a medical education (an M.D.) in order to be effective. During the interviews, those with a broad based practice (e.g. Emergency) felt that they were at a distinct advantage over those with either a narrow specialty or a non medical education. However, of those who were specialists, all reported enjoying the experience and two even used the word "fun".

The findings from this study have produced a rich and varied portrait of what the experience of tutoring was like for these people doing it for the first time. They said that it was fun and a learning experience for them. Instructional support was seen as effective although there were suggestions for changes in the problem statements. Tutors seemed unclear about how much medical content they were to teach and some felt that they had been overly directive. The data suggest that there may be some confusion about the objectives of PBL in the Faculty. They also suggest that clinical medical training and experience are not necessarily seen to be essential to the successful tutoring of a PBL group.

Discussion

While the data from a study such as this do not provide conclusive proof beyond the case, they do provide a picture of the perspective of one cohort in the process of implementing a new focus on students and their learning. It is important to keep in mind that this was a first time offering and that most of the tutors were novices at this type of teaching. All were willing to take the chances involved in a new venture and were eager to talk about the experience and share their concerns and ideas. There were, however, times of low grade frustration and anxiety for some. This was, in part, due to lack of clarity about the nature and purpose of PBL. In spite of attempts, by word and in print, to clarify the aims of PBL, the message did not get through to all staff or students. The evidence for this was less in the participants' discussion of how they felt about PBL than it was in uncertainties about conducting the classes and confusion over the teaching of content in the tutorials.

The training which people received may have been adequate for their beginning to tutor but there will be a need for continuing learning opportunities for the tutors and other faculty members. Possibly, during a Phase when an effective tutor is not being used in that capacity, she or he might be willing to sit in on some other sessions (by invitation) and discuss the process with the tutor.

Training in facilitative behaviour was provided largely through the training workshops. Some progress was made in helping the tutors to see the students in a more adult-like manner but I had the distinct impression that previous attitudes were largely carried over into the tutorial sessions. What did happen, however, was that the process encouraged students to see themselves as responsible for this part of their learning. Observations in the groups suggested that many students felt a real sense of ownership over the content and much of the progress. This, in turn, caused most of the tutors to express respect for the work and previous experience of the students. Therefore, one might conclude that much of the necessary attitudinal change will come through positive experiences of tutoring more than through actual training. Some of the vehicles for ongoing learning of facilitative approaches included: peer tutoring, micro teaching, feedback from students and discussions with "experts" on what was observed.

My involvement in this participative study originated, in part, from my curiosity about the adultlikeness of medical students and the ability of medical faculty to use non traditional approaches in the classroom. I was surprised on both counts. The students, while beginning by wanting the professor to provide the answer all seemed to move, to a greater or lesser degree, towards more autonomy in their learning. All of the tutors had a reasonable grasp on what was expected of them and most made great strides in resisting playing the expert and in moving toward being a facilitator of learning.

References

Barrows, H. S. (1986). A taxonomy of problem-based learning methods. Medical education 20, 481-486.

Bussigel, M. N., Barzansky, B. M. & Grenholm, G. G. (1988). Innovation processes in medical education. New York: Praeger.

Grand'Maison, P. & Des Marchais, J. (1991). Preparing faculty to teach in a problem-based learning curriculum: the Sherbrooke experience. Canadian Medical Association Journal, 144, 557-561.

Queen's University, (1991). MD curriculum: Problem-Based Learning Tutor Guide. Kingston, Canada: Faculty of Medicine, Queen's University.

Silver, M. & Wilkerson, L. (1991). Effects of tutors with subject expertise on the problem-based tutorial process. Academic Medicine. 66, 298-300.

EXPLORING LITERACY THROUGH THEATRE: THE IMPACT OF PERFORMING ON LITERACY AND UPGRADING STUDENTS

Cynthia Lee Andruske - University of British Columbia

Abstract: This paper explored the impact performing in the literacy play Marks on Paper had on adult literacy and upgrading students in British Columbia, Canada, from 1989-1992. The findings suggest that through performance learner/actors experienced an increased positive self-image and an increased awareness about illiteracy. Often this translated into a sense of empowerment resulting in transformations in perspectives and actions for the students.

Surveying the Context: During the 1980's, Canadians became aware that a serious literacy problem existed. This concern grew with the realization that illiteracy translates into loss of economic and technological benefits and immeasurable human suffering and stereotyping. Thus, community groups and educators began seeking ways to reach illiterate Canadian adults.

Popular Theatre: Throughout the literacy campaigns of the 1960's and 1970's in the Third World, one novel technique used to raise awareness about illiteracy was popular theatre. It seeks to turn theatre into a meaning creating experience for initiating revolutionary activities against oppressive governments and agencies. Through popular theatre, the less educated and the oppressed identify and develop novel problem solving strategies for resolving community issues. It is "theatre which speaks to the common man in his language and idiom and deals with problems of direct relevance to his situation" (Brooks, 1974, p. 7). Furthermore, popular theatre "deals with the people's own reality - their issues, their problems and from their perspective - and this makes it their theatre rather than an imposition of someone else's culture" (Kidd, 1979, p. 4).

A Novel Experiment: In 1979, Coordinator David Thomas wanted to improve delivery of the Adult Basic Education Program for Northern Lights College in Fort St. John, British Columbia. After reading about popular theatre, he decided to use this novel method within a Canadian context to raise awareness and promote social change about adult illiteracy. His goal was to attract literacy learners to attend classes, upgrade their education, and let them know that they were not alone. With the help of Brian Paisley and Ti Hallas of Chinook Touring Theatre at Northern Lights College, Vancouver playwright John Lazarus was commissioned to write Marks on Paper (1987), a play based on the lives of adult illiterates, which successfully toured B.C. from 1979-1980.

In North America, people consider theatre the domain of amateur and professional actors. This exclusive domain was not to last long with Marks on Paper. In 1989, the play's production for a Fraser Valley College learner event in Abbotsford, B.C., began a new phase for the play with a unique twist. For the very first time, it was performed by a group of upgrading and literacy students: the Literacy Players. After the initial performance, the Literacy Players' version of Marks on Paper enjoyed an unexpected growth in popularity. For three years, the group performed throughout B.C. in diverse settings for varied audiences. In addition to promoting awareness about literacy issues, the Literacy Players motivated four learner spin-off productions within B.C.: the Heartbeat Players in Victoria, East Kootenay Community College Learners in Cranbrook, Literacy Is Freedom for Everyone Learners in Williams Lake, and S.D. #28 Continuing Education Learners in Quesnel.

Choosing the Quest: As more and more non-professional groups began performing Marks on Paper throughout B.C., I questioned why untrained upgrading and literacy students would attempt to perform in a medium foreign to them about a subject such as illiteracy. Thus, the purpose of this study became to explore the impact the experience of performing in Marks on Paper, a play about adult illiteracy, had on the literacy/learner and upgrading student actors in the productions from 1989-1992.

METHOD

The research design chosen for this study was a historical case study of Marks on Paper. The play experienced three phases in its history: Chinook Touring Theatre, Literacy Players, and their four spin-off productions.

Criterion-based sampling was used to select the respondents since over the course of the play's thirteen year history at least eleven groups and over 55 people had performed in Marks on Paper. Selection of learner/actors and productions were based on four criteria. 1) Participants had to be literacy learners or upgrading students. 2) Learners had to be enrolled or recently enrolled in upgrading or literacy courses within their communities at the time they began performing the play. 3) The groups had to have performed or intended to for a public audience. 4) Instructors, directors, and producers were considered as integral members of the production and team process. These criteria reduced the productions to four, the learner/actors to 34, and the instructor/director/actors to nine. Of these, 22 learner/actors and six actors /instructor/directors were interviewed. Loss of contact and socially acceptable excuses, such as work and illness were given for non-participation.

Data sources consisted of three methods. 1) An audio-taped, semi-structured, open-ended interview was the primary source of data collection. Twenty of the 22 learner/actor were interviewed in-person and two by taped telephone interviews. 2) Documents and artifacts collected from the groups included play programs, newspaper clippings, journals, learner event reports, personal scrapbooks, photographs, and props. 3) Observations were made from videotapes and live events; plus, I was a participant-observer.

RESULTS

After the transcribed interviews were analyzed, compared, and triangulated, three major categories and seven themes emerged. The impact of Marks on Paper was reflected in I PSYCHO-SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS. This created an increased 1) self-image and 2) belongingness. II SOCIO-POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES were manifested in 1) raised awareness, 2) empowerment, and 3) transformation /action. Finally, the play had a III SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL impact discussed by the students in terms of 1) learning and 2) teaching. While the play had a significant impact, it was not the sole factor that influenced the learners. Marks on Paper served as a catalyst along with self-motivation, returning to school, significant instructors/teachers, new peer friendships, and a commitment to the play itself. These components worked in conjunction, and the play was a catalyst, not a panacea, through which theatre created a positive, reflective, and transformative experiential impact on the literacy/ learner and upgrading students. Furthermore, by performing in Marks on Paper, most students deepened their understanding about illiteracy through dramatic tension which forced the learner/actor to look at the human side of illiteracy in their daily lives. The reactions ranged from "That's me up there," to increased awareness of what illiterates encounter in society. The play illustrated that illiterates have a choice to become literate, and that there is help available. Also, the play served to create greater networks among learners while it empowered them to create awareness in and dialogue with others in a search for and implementation of constructive community strategies for addressing illiteracy.

PSYCHO-SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Self-Image: From the conversations with the respondents, I discovered that many learner/actors performing in the play had begun looking at themselves more positively. This positive self-image was reflected in their increased a)self-esteem, b) self-confidence, and c) pride.

Self-Esteem: Many of the respondents had become active in the play because either they or significant others thought the play would increase their self-esteem. For example, one woman said that after she had been asked by her teacher to be in the play she had answered: "I said, 'Sure,' thinking again it's just going to be something we do in our classroom ....that'll be good because I had a low self-esteem problem, that's something I needed to...not to be so nervous about. That'll work out good,..." (CE-1).

During an interview, I asked one learner what the play meant to him. Speaking on behalf of himself and the other performers, this learner's insistent answer reflects the meaning the play had for many students: "**SELF-ESTEEM--THAT'S THE MEANING**...I think that if a group of learners do the play, at least one person will come out of there with better self-esteem. And I think that for...me as a learner, I don't think a learner's going to go anywhere unless they have that. So if that's all the play do, is create self-esteem(...), I think that it's a very important play" (HB-1).

Self-Confidence: Initially, not all learners had lacked self-confidence, but all were nervous about performing. Through stage experience, learners helping each other, determination, and other significant group members, the students gained even more self-confidence in public and personal expression. One learner/actor captures these thoughts when she says: "And doing the play just made (standing up and speaking) much more easier for me. Of course giving me the opening line was encouraging me to stand up and say, 'Excuse me! I'm going to talk!' And then say my line. So that was kind of a shock, thinking that I'm going to have the opening line, so that was kind of neat" (LL-3).

Pride: In my analysis, I discovered that the learners often described pride as an external manifestation of the self-esteem that they felt. In addition, I observed pride in personal grooming before events. For example, many were concerned with their hair and ensured that it was styled before a performance. Moreover, the props that they chose became significant. Even more important was how the students perceived themselves. One woman encapsulates these thoughts by saying: "My body language has changed a lot now than before, which I can remember before, I'm kind of like slouching and kind of always depressed because I didn't feel good about myself. (Now) My body language was kind of like I'm feeling better about myself, so my body language has gone up too. I have a straight back, and my shoulders are back, I'm walking proud like, 'Hey, I'm not embarrassed any more. This is great. I feel good about myself, and 'I don't care what you think of me, I feel good about myself'" (EK-2).

Belongingness: Marks on Paper elicited a sense of belongingness. This was illustrated in a) relationships with others and b) knowing through body language. What seemed to be reflected in the data is that we belong to groups through different signs and codes that are manifested through physical or visual association. For example, people who have problems with reading and writing may know forgetting glasses is a sign of an inability to read or write. However, people who can read and write would not associate illiteracy with this, so they are not aware of the secret, unspoken codes.

Relationships with Others: Many of the learners gained a sense of belongingness from interacting with others. As well, learners began to see themselves as students who performed Marks on Paper in their home towns. They also saw themselves as a provincial network of learners connected through the experience of performing in the play.

Knowing Through Body Language: Literacy students were quick to pick up and relate to the "cover up" signs and codes portrayed in the vignettes. For example, a common ploy of many illiterates is to bandage a hand so that they will not have to write even though there is nothing physically wrong with the hand. People who have not experienced problems with reading and writing take a bandaged hand at face value; however, illiterates do not. They know that they too have sometimes bandaged a hand in order to avoid writing at school or in the workplace. They perceive this coping skill as being more socially acceptable than admitting inability to read or write.

SOCIO-POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Raising Awareness: Throughout the interviews, literacy learners described or spoke of how they began to think (self-reflection) about themselves as illiterates or as people who had learning problems. As well, students verbalized how society perceived illiterates. These two themes were manifested in a) self-perception and b) societal perceptions of people with learning problems.

Self-Perception: Often due to having been labelled disapprovingly by others, especially family members, literacy learners perceived themselves very negatively. Many felt like they were alone. Often learners described their experience of isolation within illiteracy akin to hiding in a closet. They did not see themselves as normal human beings. One young woman described how she felt: "I'm sure a lot of people (who) have this problem kind of feel like the Elephant Man...they feel they can't tell anybody because they're different. They feel really different; that's how they're like the Elephant Man" (LP-4).

Societal Perceptions: In addition to literacy learners feeling that they were outcasts, upgrading students often described how society perceived illiterates as deviant and in some cases dumb, lazy, and stupid. However, others described illiterates differently as one man stated: "When I thought about someone that can't read or write, I'd think of this fellow with a straw hat walking down a country path with bare feet. Like a Huck Finn sort of guy or a Tom Sawyer, ...learning about other stuff, filling his day with other things" (LP-6).

Empowerment: The sense of empowerment that many learners described throughout was a gradual process that went hand-in-hand with the reflective process as the learners experienced the play. Empowerment was related by the learners as a) gave voice, b) created ownership of role - "that's me," and c) created ownership of the play - "that's our play."

Gave Voice: The learners used the play to give voice to their life experiences and those of others. Often learner/actors said that they would not express words or sentences in the way that was done by the author. Therefore, the students would take the liberty to change the words to their own to reflect real situations. In fact, they took control of the language that had been written and revised by the playwright. Many learners could not read and in some cases memorize the lines, so they used the words closest to their own. This gave the learner/actors control over the dialogue and a creative vehicle for expressing words or emotions that had been hidden and bottled up for so long. As one man stated, "I've seen other people that were quiet start speaking up...for me, that's the most important thing in the play..." (HB-1). Another learner acknowledged that the play was a vehicle for her voice until she learned to communicate more effectively with others. She commented on the words of the play in this way: "(The play) gave them...weren't so afraid to say stuff. Gave them wider vocabulary. How they could express themselves. Most of us express ourself by getting angry, and you don't get anything across when you get angry because people get their back up and say, 'Forget it, I'm not listening to you.' It was using the play. Because you learn how in the play it's already written down for you, you don't have to really think about it. For you to think about things and put them into words and saying what you want to get across, a lot of times it gets mixed up half-way in between. You lose the point. Whereas in the play, it got straight to the point..."(LL-2).

Created Ownership of the Role: Many learners identified very closely with the roles, for they had often experienced the real life drama of their characters. Moreover, even the upgrading students developed ownership of their roles and were able to walk in the shoes of illiterates. Sometimes individuals would leave the play only to return to the role at a later time. As well, these individuals hesitated at taking on a new character, for they had already shaped and moulded their parts. For those who had lived illiteracy, the roles became even more personal as is reflected in the comments by a young woman: "(What bothers me is) knowing someone else is going to play my part. Because that's me. That's my part; that's a part of me, that's not just Bonnie. I don't think of that character as being Bonnie any more...That is me. That's exactly what happened to me. I've played (the part) for three years, but I played it before three years too. I didn't play it. That was me. That's what happened" (LP-4).

Created Ownership of the Play: Throughout the interview process, the term "OUR PLAY" was repeated over and over again by the performers in each of the five groups. As I explored deeper, I discovered most groups believed that the play was theirs, for they owned it through the creative dialogue, creative collaboration, and sense of commitment they felt. Even more interesting was to watch the learner/actors as they found out that others felt exactly the same way as they did - "That's OUR PLAY." Generally, the learners were curious about the other groups. As well, a sudden realization would hit them as they thought about sharing it and admitting that perhaps other students were entitled to experience ownership. Even so, each group seemed to put their unique signature on Marks on Paper.

TRANSFORMATION/ACTION

When students were asked if their actions or views had changed after having performed in the play, initially many would respond negatively. Though, as I probed deeper, students stated that the play had acted as a catalyst in transforming their thinking or engaging them in new actions. The learners discussed a) change in meaning, b) catharsis, c) action, d) networking, and e) modelling for other learners.

Meaning: Often when I asked what meaning the play had for the learner/actors, they looked puzzled and said it did not mean anything. However, on closer reflection, many stated, as did one respondent, that "The subject material didn't have an impact on me at that time (when I first began performing)...it grew on me. I got sensitized through the audience" (LP-2).

Catharsis: Many literacy students related how some scenes brought back a flood of old often negative memories which engulfed them with a swirling storm of emotions. Maintaining composure was a major effort, for many did not want to disclose their turmoil even within the safe group. Thus, as adults, many described the play as having a cathartic effect for them on these old problems and memories. As one literacy learner said, "Some of the stuff was hitting a little too close to home. Some of the stuff I had heard before and I...was moved by it then and it had time to sink in..." (LL-2).

Action: Learners described new actions in a number of ways. For example, some said they had begun listening to programs about illiteracy or had become involved in community activities for promoting literacy awareness and fund raising events. Thus, the type of action varied greatly.

Networking: Networking was both personal and in the community. Personal networking by the learners included participating in social activities such as going to coffee or having picnics before or after rehearsals where the cast had fun and became acquainted on a more intimate level. Further, networking took on both a community and provincial flavour. For example, many learners got to know each other through yearly provincial learner events. Moreover, the play was a vehicle for networking with other Marks on Paper casts, for the learners had a common bond through the play.

Modelling for Other Learners: Through the new found self-confidence, self-esteem, voice, and empowerment, many learners began to take on the role of helping and modelling actions for other students. Many felt that if they had learned to read and write, gained confidence, or performed in a play that other learners too could experience and share these new successes, feelings, and actions. One woman made this quite clear when she told me that she had helped her husband's friend: "I think it was because of the play because I was able to stand out and say, 'Well, look. I can help you. I can give you these books and stuff. Where before I wouldn't have said anything if I hadn't have been involved with the play...I would have just minded my own business.... because of myself being shy and not well educated and so I figured, well, if I can do it, then he can do it too'" (LP-5).

SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Throughout the interviews the respondents continually reiterated their perceptions about learning and teaching. These were manifested in a) perceptions of learning and learners and b) perceptions of teaching and teachers.

Perceptions of Learning and Learners: Many of the literacy students had never heard the term illiteracy until they attended classes. Thus, they had never identified with the concept. They always thought of illiterate as someone else. As one learner said, "I didn't think I was one of them, I thought I was pretty smart myself. I knew things, but I just couldn't read them or write them down, but I knew a lot of things" (EK-2). Furthermore, many learners emphasized that learning did not have to come out of a book. They felt that people could learn by doing and watching and modelling others.

Perceptions of Teaching and Teachers: Often both literacy and upgrading students had negative memories of teachers. They felt anger, loss, and hurt by having been denied the pleasure of learning by traditional teachers who were sometimes unsympathetic to the students' learning difficulties. Many noted how different literacy and adult basic education instructors were. One learner captures this as she says: "(The teacher) takes time to teach you. And she realizes she's teaching adults; she's not teaching kids. She's at the same level; she's not only just a teacher but she's um...a counsellor. She's someone to talk to. She's a friend. And that's what a lot of literacy adults need is a friend. A friend that can teach them, but hasn't put themselves on a pedestal. Too many teachers put themselves on a pedestal..." (LL-2).

IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this research have implications for self-understanding, understanding others, raising awareness, problem-solving, teaching, and learning. The play provided the learner/actors with the opportunity to explore their performing capabilities, inter-personal skills, and perceptions of illiteracy in the classroom, informal settings, rehearsal, and public performance. This helped increase self-confidence in the learners. Also, the play was used as an instrument for learners to work in groups and to network with peers. Theatre can provide a voice for students to create dialogue, solve problems, and create awareness about illiteracy. Also, theatre encouraged students to work on their own behalf with professionals and the community to seek solutions for illiteracy.

These findings confirm that theatre can be used to raise awareness through critical reflection and problem solving so that we may all see that we are part of the greater universal of humanity. As Dorothy Heathcote (Wagner, 1976, p. 76) says, "The universal is the wellspring, the source, however, drama, like all art starts with a very carefully selected, precise and particular, unrepeatable instance--one that then acquires significance as it reverberates in the chambers of the universal."

Through Marks on Paper literacy and upgrading students had an opportunity to create art by mirroring the mundane realities of life. Theatre transforms everyday situations into art by allowing individuals to explore feelings, beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, and actions. All in all, performing in the play provided the learners with a vehicle for greater understanding of illiteracy, community involvement, self-understanding, and transformation while opening new doors for the learner/actors to improve their quality of life. Since I began working with this play in 1989, theatre has been used more and more to create awareness about social issues. However, when this play was written in 1979, it was well before its time. This research is only one attempt to express the impact that theatre can have on all of us. The impact of performing on marginalized adults is just beginning to be explored. More research through theatre is needed to capture those voices so that we may better understand ourselves in a democratic and caring society.

References

Brookes, C. (1974). Useful theatre in Sally's Cove. This magazine, pp. 3-7.

Kidd, R. (1979). Popular theatre and popular action in Canada. (pp. 1-43 and bibliography pp. 1-4). Toronto: Ontario: pub. unknown.

Lazarus, J. (1979). Marks on paper. Vancouver, B.C.: pub. unknown.

Wagner, B. (1976). Dorothy Heathcote: Drama as a learning medium. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States.

Title: Developing Learning Packages for Distance Continuing Nursing Education: Learning in the Workplace

Authors: **A. C. Beckingham, RN, PhD**, Professor, School of Nursing, Vice-Chair, Continuing Education, Faculty of Health Sciences, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario

M.J. Oates, BA, Instructional Developer, Learning Resources, Education Services, Faculty of Health Sciences, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario

T. Butson, BScN, MHSc, Clinical Nurse Specialist, Gerontology, Chedoke-McMaster Hospitals, Clinical Associate, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario

Abstract

At Continuing Education workshops, Health Care Professionals with different educational backgrounds, and status together grapple with important knowledge and skills challenges experienced daily at the workplace.

Priority nursing skills sessions from a one day McMaster workshop, "Day in Gerontological Nursing - Sharpening Your Assessment Skills", have been packaged as distance teaching modules for self and group study. It will be tested for use at independent nursing workplaces across the province.

Aux ateliers d'éducation permanente, nous pensons que les professionels des services de santé, de par leur différents niveaux d'éducations et positions, peuvent se réunir pour partager leurs connaissances et expériences quotidiennes dans leur milieu de travail.

Alors, nous déterminerons si les ateliers visant les séances de soins infirmiers essentiels préparés originairement pour le cours d'université "Day in Gerontological Nursing" peuvent être préparés pour être utilisés dans les milieux infirmiers indépendant à travers la province. Une technique utilizer pour l'education des adultes est l'apprentissage autodirigé.

Developing Learning Packages for Distance Continuing Nursing Education: Learning in the Workplace

Lifelong learning is necessary for all health professionals. Continuing education is an important vehicle to build and share this knowledge. The National Advisory Council on Aging (NACA) in its position paper on Gerontological Education (1991), states that "Employers must demand gerontology knowledge, provide opportunities and incentives for staff development in gerontology and facilitate the use of gerontological information in service delivery."

Continuing education is necessary for staff to keep informed about new developments in their fields and practice settings. The NACA paper explains that some of the first gerontology programmes in Canada were designed for practitioners who needed special knowledge and skills to work with seniors, and recommends that "Educators in gerontological associations develop models and materials for inservice education for all staff whose duties have a significant impact on the lives of seniors." (1991, p. 7). French also refers to the special body of knowledge needed by gerontological nurses (Beckingham and DuGas, 1992).

Continuing Education in Nursing

There are many factors to consider in designing continuing education programmes for nursing. Assessing the individual's learning needs is important to identify the "knowledge gap" and the individual's own goals for learning (Betz, 1984). An agency can use audits or questionnaires to clarify knowledge deficits or needs, and ask experts in the field. Knowing the target population assists in tailoring the educational programme to specific needs. Individuals have varied learning styles necessitating a wide range of learning activities and tools (Kathrein, 1991). The optimum time for the continuing educational event should fit with family, as well as job responsibilities and hours of work. Accessibility is a consideration for rural nurses who in addition will have to arrange transportation. Staffing patterns in smaller hospitals and agencies could deter nurses from attendance at educational programmes. Many agencies today insist that staff use their days off duty to attend educational activities. Though all continuing education activities need basis to be conducted on a cost recovery basis, registration cost needs to be considered because employers are challenged to operate within smaller budgets.

This paper describes a community-oriented gerontology workshop with four components or learning modules. These modules can be adopted for self-directed, problem based and small group learning, independent of a workshop. It is anticipated that they can be used for distance education by educators/facilitators, meeting the characteristics described previously.

Implementation of Continuing Education Learning in the Workplace

Keiner's study explored factors which facilitated or impeded implementation of new knowledge in the workplace. Facilitating factors were new knowledge, peer support, commitment to change, pre-programme interest, administrative support and resources, congruence with own beliefs and values, and networking. Barriers were resistance to change, knowledge deficit or complexity of task, workload, lack of administrative support (Keiner, 1992).

Peden (1992) sites a study by Fakalys and Carter (1986) through which a week's study programme improved nursing assessment and management of care of rheumatology patients. Three months post-programme when the nurses were contacted, they still reported increased assessment ability. Peden stresses the importance of the nurses' social systems/environment at work as being a key element in implementing new knowledge or skills. Her study demonstrated a change in a nursing practice when both nurses and supervisors valued the new practice (1992).

An Australian study examined quality of care in 200 Nursing Homes, identifying positive relationships between level of inservice education and outcomes of health care, freedom of choice for the resident, variety of experience, social independence, home-like environment and safety (Pearson, Hocking, Mott, and Riggs, 1992). The commitment to inservice education, and the leadership and professional thrust of the Senior Management/Director of Nursing were felt to be important outcome factors in quality of care.

Background and development process

As a follow-up to a one-day workshop entitled "Day in Gerontological Nursing - Sharpening Your Assessment Skills" a group of educators dedicated to sharing practical knowledge with their peers decided to review and prepare the materials from the workshop for further teaching use initially throughout the province of Ontario. Such flexibility is necessary to satisfy a range of learning styles, give consideration to cost and to provide access to various educational programmes for nurses at diverse work settings who cannot easily access traditional Continuing Education events sponsored at university or college sites. It was found possible and useful for health care professionals with different educational background and a shared interest in providing excellent care to their aging clients to work together to solve common problems encountered daily in their challenging workplaces. Workplaces include: community health, visiting nurses agencies, homes for the aged, nursing homes, hospitals, and day programmes.

Attendees at workshops register on a self-identified and "volunteer" basis. One of their rewards for workshop attendance seems to be the intrinsic satisfaction of doing something and thoughtfully pondering workplace challenges. What participants bring to any workshop or study is explicitly acknowledged by our facilitators, planners and even imbedded in the materials encountered. On the second page of the materials developed and under discussion today is a section called "Learner Requirements". They are:

- your own unique work and life experience;
- motivation; and
- an open, thoughtful attitude.

On the next page under "Ideas for Further Discussion", the following instructions challenge nurses: You as a gerontological nurse have decided to sharpen your assessment skills. Remember, these include:

- your knowledge of the gerontological client
- your underlying assumptions/beliefs/theory base
- your interviewing skills
- your use of interview information (including useful documentation).

Because of the variety of worksites used by nurses working in geriatric care, adaptability of study or workshop materials is essential and appreciated. Students learn better when dealing with scenarios which are "real" to them. They are motivated to learn if they can see the immediate relevance of the materials to their daily work duties. This is one reason why case-based materials are so appealing. These present a challenge to the health care professional who is empowered by her own motivation and need to know and by a supportive group with like needs and helped by an expert facilitator/colleague to think about old or repeating problems in new ways.

Adaptability is a key feature of such workshops or packages or interactions. Students are always reminded to substitute their own case from their daily practice to illustrate the sessions to which they are devoting themselves. At the end of the hour, or day, or workshop, they are frequently challenged to use what they have learned or found most appealing immediately. Examples of how this is done in the 4 packages prepared from the continuing education workshop on nursing assessment, the topic of discussion in this presentation, will be shown on transparencies.

The Educational Centre for Aging and Health (ECAH) supports an androgogical approach and that consensus decisions about appropriate content, skills, attitudes, and professional behaviours are made and practised by health professionals working with Ontario's aging population. To determine what constitutes important content and knowledge, a number of strategies have been employed. Coalition groups across the province (and indeed also across professions) have met regularly to help delineate the challenge . Documents such as position papers, workshops, meetings and annual conferences have helped define what is key or critical content for health professionals .

Package development

A planning group composed of a few members from McMaster's Educational Centre for Aging and Health Nursing Committee and nurses from community agencies designed the original workshop. Four learning sessions were outlined, videotapes identified and prepared for the two morning sessions, which challenged gerontological nursing assessment skills.

The first videotape filmed at McMaster specifically for the workshop shows a gerontological nurse clinician interviewing a simulated or standardized patient whose name was Mabel McGurran. The interview takes place in hospital and in the patient's home, where she is discovered after a serious fall. The second videotape encourages participants to assess physiological and other changes of aging in order to discover creative ways to use information gathered in day-to-day workplace practice.

The two afternoon workshop sessions examine patient care issues which emerged from the morning case study. For example, patient autonomy and risk taking follow the morning discussion about patient falls. Reference material distributed by tutors to participants contains questions about valuable health care provider and patient values. Overhead transparencies and case-based scenarios guide large group sessions. In small groups, the participants exchange ideas about assessment tools and intervention frameworks introduced into the large group. Experienced group facilitators guide discussion. Other resources include a bibliography, reference material and a generic list of community resources. All these materials have been adopted to an "on the road" version in a 170 page binder which will be available for viewing during the presentation.

Ease of use for tutors or individuals was a prime criteria for development of the derived binder of learning materials. At least one easily applied "take-away" page for each package has been included to make it very easy to use and share with colleagues in the workplace, the day after engaging with each learning module. Colour coding of materials make them easy to use, discriminating materials used by tutor or by the target audience, "*life-long learners*". Packages have been assembled using "pink" pages for tutor-only sections, "white" paper for materials for the learner, and "blue" pages for important resources to take away from each package or lesson. (This includes standard references, and fill-in-the-blank forms to empower real change at the workplace subsequent to the educational intervention.) Transparencies and white pages for easy photocopying by workshop leaders anywhere are located conveniently in the binder. These flexible materials can be used over an entire day, or in 2-hour sessions. Some could even be attempted in parts, requiring 1/2 to 1 hour time commitments.

Evaluation

How good are these workshops and teaching materials? From the workshop, evaluation forms capture participants' demographics, including: professional status, education, position, employment status. Evaluation of four education packages provides rating of relevance, format content and an overall rating, from the workshop run at McMaster. A similar form is prepared for "on the road" testing of these newly packaged modules. Additional open-ended questions allow regular editing of all materials, and also suggest areas of weakness of the facilitators who should also be concerned with regular updating of their own training, knowledge base, and comfort with educational performance abilities.

The number of attendees at workshops, [n=70 at McMaster's 1990 workshop] or numbers using packages who SAY they are useful and that the ideas WILL or DO result in changes in their behaviours on the job are indices of some success. Self-evaluation is critical to sincere lifelong learning, and so these indications of success or changes in clinical practice are our primary outcome data. Numbers attending the first workshops are very substantial outcomes alone, indicating perceived need in the community for our particular nursing education intervention. They indicate need and self-selection of committed learners. Attendees all take something of value from a workshop which encourages networking with peers and leaders (even if we do have difficulty quantifying precisely what participants use after the fact!). One or two minor adjustments in daily practice may be a momentous outcome for an individual nurse or client or institution.

Secondary outcome level research would be desirable. With participant permission, a colleague or supervisor could be surveyed by phone or mail to ask about her perceptions of any work skills or behaviour changes following workshop participation or self-study by staff of the workbook module sessions. How to do this in a consistent, reliable, non-judgmental and non-threatening way is a challenge.

Results

Current feedback forms primarily give Satisfaction Indices of attendees at sessions on the very day of attendance. A simple questionnaire sent to participants one week, one month or six months later would better assess whether an educational intervention has indeed made a difference to practice. We have enclosed in our packages a few samples of such for consideration, though we have not yet finalized such an instrument for our modules.

Of the 70 attendees at the workshop 62 (88.6%) identified themselves as RNs. Three RNAs, 2 administrators, 2 "others", and 1 OT were also participants of the workshop. Fifty-two (77.6%) identified their education level as diploma level; eleven (16.4%) had a baccalaureate; and 4 (6%) had a masters degree. Positions of those at the workshop follow: staff nurses numbered 35 (50.7%); head nurses, 5 (7.2%); clinical nurse specialists, 2 (2.9%); and "other" accounted for 13 (18.8%); nurse managers numbered 4 (5.8%); nursing administrators/supervisors were 7 in number (10.1%); and finally, 3 clinical instructors/educators made up 4.3% of the audience. Employment status data indicated that 51 (72.9%) of the audience worked full time, with 18 (25.7%) identifying themselves as part time workers; 1 questionnaire was blank for this item.

Participants indicated "disappointments" and "highlights" in their overall feedback, responding to open-ended questions. Some examples of "highlights" and "my most important learning" for application in clinical practice will be included in the presentation. It is obvious from the above that the day appeared successful when considering satisfaction as an index of achievement.

A final open-ended question cued "suggestions for topics to be presented next year", which yielded another 32 topic areas. A number of these have and will be featured in other fora at McMaster. Testing of construct and content validity has interested the package designers. Feedback from the first large audience (n=70) has certainly indicated that aside from a few technical difficulties, the content was certainly well presented and suited to being brought back for use in the worksite.

Those designing the first packages were expert in their worksite, whether institutionally or community placed. The leaders themselves had struggled with the topics "at home" and were therefore able to share their difficulties and trial solutions in an honest exchange with participants who frequently shared similar clientele and resource constraints. Ownership of the materials was certainly aimed outwards, to the participants.

A further credibility/comprehensiveness check is being made of the materials in their current developmental stage. Four educators, known for their experience, presentation skill, and educational background are currently reviewing the materials , assessing both the completeness, believability, applicability, and quality of the materials. Their suggestions will be incorporated and updating the 3-year-old bibliographies soliciting their diverse knowledge of the current literature. We anticipate helpful and sophisticated suggestions from these "expert" contacts, as they react to the four modules entitled:

- "Nursing Assessment Of Mabel McGurran (A Standardized Patient);
- "Assessment of Attitudes and Physiological Changes of Aging & Relevant Assessment Tools and Their Use";

- "Physical Assessment of Mabel & Mabel After the Fall"; and
- "Risk Assessment of Mabel at Home",

assessing the usefulness, accuracy, humour and appeal of the packaged materials.

We intend to test these materials at 2 sites in Ontario later this year. These particular sites have been chosen for pre-testing the materials because of geographical convenience to the developers, availability of partners to facilitate workshop presentations of the materials in prototypical geriatric nursing worksites, and because of the enthusiasm of these partners who have themselves attended the first workshop or another Continuing Education workshops on gerontological nursing themes. An Instructional Developer who is not a nursing professional will attend in an observer role.

Discussion

Evaluation

Evaluation is difficult, yet necessary for several reasons. Continuing education programmes cost money and involves participants time. The educator may find it necessary to change aspects of the programme based on participants' assessment of programme strengths and weaknesses. It is important to determine if the programme met the objectives intended, and learner outcomes are part of this. New knowledge or behaviour can be assessed at the end of the programme and on the longer term basis, using appropriate tools to measure the criteria set by the educator (Betz, 1984).

Outcomes included:

1) expected change in professional behaviours and applied knowledge at the workplace by participants and trainers/educators as measured in the workplace, and
2) ownership/continuing development of materials by facilitators/trainers/educators in multiple geriatrics/gerontology work sites across the province is a desired outcome.

Can universities serve the needs of the community/workplace/remote areas in this province? We believe they can, using such enlightened partnerships of university educators and community nurses--those with the problems and the challenges, and the knowledge of the real working site. Thinking in fresh ways they solve shared problems in community nursing practices. Nurses who are University faculty may be more familiar with the nursing literature and especially able to critically appraise or judge whether assessment tools are valid and reliable. Testing these first in their own clinical practice and then making them easy to use or interpret at the workplace may be a major contribution, translating research findings to lay language and helping to anticipate and overcome common barriers to change.

References

Betz, C. L. (1984). Methods utilized in nursing continuing education programmes. Journal of Continuing Education in nursing, 15(2), 39-44.

French, S. (1993). In A. Beckingham and B. DuGas (Eds). Promoting healthy aging: A nursing and community perspective. Toronto: Mosby-Year Book Inc.

Kathrein, M. (1991). Continuing nursing education: A perspective. Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing, 21(5), 216-218.

Kiener, E., & Hentschel, D. (1992). What happens to learning when the workshop is over? Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing, 23(4), 169-173.

National Advisory Council on Aging. (1991). Position paper on Gerontology Education. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Pearson, A., Hocking, S., Mott, S., & Riggs, A. (1992). Skills mix in Australian nursing homes. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 17(7), 767-776.

Peden, A., Rose, H, & Smith, M. (1992). Transfer of continuing education to practice: Testing an evaluation model. Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing, 23(4), 152-155.

Smith, E. (1992). Women's learning: Implication for adult education research and practice. Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 4(2), 45-66.

"TRAIN THE TRAINER"
SERIES FOR NURSE EDUCATORS - PROCESS AND CONTENT MODEL

Authors: **Ann C. Beckingham, RN, PhD**, Professor, School of Nursing, McMaster University, Faculty of Health Sciences, Hamilton, Ontario

Pat Morden, RN, BScN, MEd, Associate Clinical Professor, School of Nursing, McMaster University, Faculty of Health Sciences, Administrator, Shalom Village, Hamilton, Ontario

Linda Ritchie, RN, BScN, MHSc, Assistant Clinical Professor, School of Nursing, McMaster University, Faculty of Health Sciences, Clinical Nurse Specialist, Wentworth Lodge, Hamilton, Ontario

Abstract

Many nurses are given first-time responsibility for training others, sometimes with limited preparation in basic teaching methods and ability to effectively share their knowledge. This workshop provided an intensive "hands-on" course in the principles and practicalities of facilitating teaching/learning strategies for personnel currently in the workplace. Brand new trainers, as well as those with many years experience benefited from this workshop series.

Plusieurs infirmières doiveut fournir de la formation aux autres une premièr fois et parfois sans avoir acquis pour autout une préperation adéquate à l'égard des méthods debase d'enseignement et deshabiletés à transmettre efficacement les connaissances.

Cet atelier est un cours practique intensif sur les principles et l'application de stratégies pour faciliter l'enseignement et l'apprentissage auprès du personnel actuellenent dans le milieu de travail. Les nouveaux formateurs de même que ceux ayant plusieurs années d'expérience ont bénéficié de cette série d'atelier.

"Train the trainer" Series for nurse educators - process and content model[*]

Planting the seed

> Standing before a large group of colleagues attending an educational planning committee meeting, a participant is sharing a recent educational experience. She had attended a two day workshop on adult teaching/learning methodologies and since her return had glowing reports about the insights and knowledge gained. As she imparts her experience, knowledge, and enthusiasm, others are shuffling in their seats, many are inattentive, obviously not hearing the same message that so influenced their colleague ... why?

This scenario illustrates the major gap in knowledge/skills for many nurses, the inability to effectively share their knowledge with others. A survey of long term care facilities revealed a paucity of personnel who had special preparation in educational methodologies.

A recurring theme in the planning and discussions of the Continuing Nursing Education (CNE) Committee, Faculty of Health Sciences, McMaster University was how to maximize the effect and impact of educational sessions on the outcomes of care provided in long term care facilities. Recognizing that most sessions were attended by only one representative from most facilities - which often proved to reflect the above described scene - begged the question of how could we extend the influence of the knowledge gained?

Drawing on the McMaster Health Sciences' adult learning self-directed small group approach to education, the committee attempted to merge both the content and process issues raised during the educational needs analysis. McMaster's educational andrological approach is reflective of the Confucian philosophy that states "if you give a man a fish he will eat for a day, if you teach him to fish he will eat for a lifetime."

As a result, a CNE task group developed a year long educational experience designed to concurrently help participants gain new information on the assessment and management of the cognitively impaired individual as well as to gain skills and knowledge in the principles and methods of facilitating learning. This "Train the Trainer" series was entitled Making A difference...Strategies for continuing nurse educators Assessing...Planning...Managing the individual with cognitive impairment.

Review of Literature [1]

The personal, professional and social environments in which nurses practice are increasingly complex, creating new and ever changing demands on the content and processes of their continuing education (Allen, 1989; Grant, 1992; Kathrein, 1991; Podnicks, Fliesser, & Brunton, 1988).

The group acknowledges the support of the Educational Centre for Aging and Health (ECAH). ECAH was established in the Faculty of Health Sciences at McMaster University in 1987 with funding from the Ontario Government through the Ministry of Colleges and Universities.

---

[1] The authors acknowledge the assistance of Kris Dionne in compiling the literature review.

No educational system, however perfect, can guarantee the continued competence of its graduates. Reassessment and retraining become necessary because of the rate at which specific skills and knowledge become obsolete, because of changes in social patterns, and in the health care delivery system. Staff development initiatives require legislative attention and financial support (Cooley & Tompson, 1992, 201-207).

> A WHO working group defined continuing education of health personnel as follows: Continuing education [is] the training that an individual health professional undertakes after the end of basic professional education - or of any additional education for a career as a generalist or a specialist - to improve competence as a practitioner and not with a view to gaining a new qualifying diploma or licence. (WHO, 1980, p.16).

Over the years many different terms were used such as in-service education or training, orientation, staff development or education, and most recently professional development. This is a term that emphasizes the focus on employees who hold a professional status within that organization. All staff development efforts, however, emphasize the improvement of the abilities of a group of employees so that higher quality health care is provided. "Programme content for continuing education consists of concepts, principles, research, or theories related to nursing that build on previously acquired knowledge, skills, and attitudes. The structure and content of this lifelong learning process is flexible, has immediate or future application, and promotes professional development and advances the career goals of registered nurses" (Abruzzese, 1992, p.8).

According to Kristjanson and Scanlon (1989), continuing education may take many forms. It is a process of ensuring that members of the nursing profession maintain and extend their professional competence and effectiveness, and not an activity solely for the purpose of obtaining another diploma or licence. It is critical for nurses to continuously work toward enhancing the services they offer to the public and keep up-to-date on new developments in administrative, educational, service, and research sectors of their practice. (Duquette, Painchaud & Blais, 1988). It is a well-known fact that education and expertise contribute to job satisfaction, staff retention and improved patient care, and these benefits have become a popular incentive offered by many who are enthusiastic in attracting and retaining a qualified nursing staff (Besler, 1991). Zahara (1992) found in her study of selected nurses in hospital teaching positions that 50% of nurse educators completed their highest level of education prior to 1985 and many have been in teaching roles for at lease five years. "Only 7% of nurse educators have academic preparation in some aspects of teaching, perhaps this is why nursing clings to the traditional nursing process for instructional development and changes occur slowly" (Zahara, 1992, p.3).

Nurses encounter many barriers and have several reasons for non-participation in continuing education programmes such as; the lack of financial support, the lack of political support, the lack of collaboration between universities, colleges, and health care facilities, the lack of concrete rewards or benefits, and the lack of course quality. Other influencing factors would include family responsibilities, shift work, burnout, demographic traits such as age, sex, and occupation, time constraints imposed by the work environment, inadequate advertising of educational events, recency of past continuing education programmes, and lack of motivation.

Many feel that by developing a model or programme for continuing education, nurses may be able to conquer the various barriers to improving their education (Smith, 1991). Most models or programmes originate out of organizational responses to external demands on or expectations of the organization, internal pressures for change or expansion, increased availability of funds or other resources (Lauffer, 1977). Models and steps of model development for continuing education programmes are reviewed in more depth in the paper.

Development of the "Train the Trainer" Series

The model for this six part series consisted of day long sessions extending over one year, and was initiated as a result of the collaborative efforts of a group of nurse educators and service providers with expertise in the care of older persons. These professionals were also the facilitators/trainers for the series, were involved in the planning stage, and identified the needs for innovative continuing education in long term care settings (community and institutions). It was decided that the maximum number of nurse participants would be 25, other registrants were placed on a waiting list. The Series brochure was sent to directors of nursing, executive officers, and top management in long term care facilities with a letter describing the series, the cost involved, and encouraging them to sponsor one or more of their staff to attend.

The workshops were developed to provide individuals given first-time responsibility for training others with intensive "hands on" skills training in teaching methods. The process component included presentation skills, and training package development. Issues related to the assessment, planning, and management of cognitive impairment and related challenges in caring for older persons was viewed as a high priority educational need for practice within long term care facilities, and as such was chosen as the course content component. The series therefore was based on an adult educational model that was flexible, where content and process ran in parallel partnership and formed the basic framework for the development of the series.

Throughout the series the process of developing educational tools and the fostering of skills to present the knowledge gained was an integral part of the participant's learning. At each session participants were asked to complete an evaluation form, indicating if their learning needs were met, and identifying subsequent areas of emphasis. This approach served to implement and demonstrate adult learning principles and to assist the facilitators who met between sessions to evaluate the day itself, and plan and prepare more in-depth for the next session. Concurrently a bank of literature on process and content initially made available by facilitators was then added to by participants - a considerable of exchange of information took place.

Objectives

The goals of the series included the following:

- To provide senior staff members the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and tools to effectively teach new information to peers and other staff members.
- To help in meeting the challenges of the 90's in health care of the older adult in:
  - acute care,
  - community care, and
  - long term care settings.

The series itself

An overview of the content and process components for each day of the series is outlined in a detailed table included in the paper. In meetings the programme committee specifically planned for each session following review of the evaluation of the previous day, the overall goals, and objectives for each session. Multiple teaching/learning strategies were used including individual, small and large group work. The facilitators/trainers provided most of the expertise and resources required.

Evaluation

Briefly, the participants rated the content and process of each day very high; including the comments about what knowledge they gained. Comprehensive day by day evaluations are outlined in the paper.

The evaluation of continuing education models is necessary in order to determine whether or not the model was suitable with regards to educational quality, meeting participants identified learning needs, participant satisfaction, and financial factors such as cost/benefit analysis. It is crucial that continuing education models suit the needs of the population they serve and it is essential to determine whether or not learning does in fact occur. By addressing these concerns, decisions about model modification can be made.

Recommendations and Future Directions

Nineteen out of twenty-one participants believed the series should be repeated. There were several recommendations/suggestions which the facilitators reviewed and discussed in their meetings following the end of the series. In summary they focus on time frame/format, and content.

Future Considerations

Feedback from both participants and facilitators demonstrates that the series was an overwhelming success. The future will see changes in the model, in format as well as content. It is acknowledged that the model lends itself well to almost any subject, and is applicable to interdisciplinary groups. Decisions need to be made which meet the needs of potential participants representing several health care disciplines, while recognizing the tight economic constraints all are presently enduring in today's recessionary economy. A more detailed analysis of the summary evaluation of the series, and the six and twelve month follow-up evaluations will be the focus of a subsequent paper. Additional recommendations may also emerge.

Summary

> Very little education is provided to professionals who work in long term care facilities; indeed, there is yet minimal education about aging and the elderly in the health and social service professions. --- Never the less, the professionals on the staff of a long-term care facility are responsible for giving leadership and direction to the non-professional staff in making vital decisions regarding the life and care of residents ---. Improvement of the quality of life in long term care facilities depends to a large extent on the education of the professionals who assume positions of leadership in the facilities (Plouffe, 1992, p.35).

There is hardly one book or journal relating to the elderly that does not suggest the need for continuing education and human development in gerontology. Educators and educational institutions need to assume an active leadership role in developing and implementing continuing professional educational opportunities in the challenging area of long term care. A recent National Advisory Council on Aging (NACA), publication states that " . . . continuing education is considered vital to allow service providers to keep up with new developments in their respective fields and in the practice setting. It is also an opportunity for professional specialization or re-orientations" (NACA, 1991, p. 16).

REFERENCES

Abruzzese, R. S. (1992). Nursing staff development. Strategies for success. St. Louis, MO: Mosby Year Book.

Allen, J. K. (1989). Learning after graduation: Are nurses taking advantage of the resources? Journal of Gerontological Nursing, 15(8), 27-31.

Besler, C. (1991). Educating nurses. The Registered Nurse, 3(3), 8-10.

Cooley, V. E., Thompson, J. C. (1992). State Mandated Staff Development: An update of the 1984 study of the fifty states. Educational Horizons, 70(4), 201-207.

Duquette, A., Painchaud, G., & Blais, J. G. (1988). Reasons for non-participation in continuing nursing education. Research in Nursing and Health, 11, 199-209.

Grant, A. R. (1992). Legal aspects of continuing education for Nurses. Registered Nurse, 4(4), 10.

Kathrein, M. A. (1991). Continuing nursing education: A perspective. The Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing, 21(5), 216-218.

Kristjanson, L. J. & Scanlon, J. M. (1989). Assessment of continuing nursing education needs: A literature review. The Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing, 20(3), 118-123.

Lauffer, A. (1977). The Practice of Continuing Education in the Human Services. New York: McGraw-Hill.

National Advisory Council on Aging. (1991). The NACA position on gerontology education. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Plouffe, L. (1992). Quality of life in long-term care institutions: A concerted approach. In The National Advisory Council on Aging, Writings in Gerontology, Series 12. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Podnieks, E., Fliesser, L. Y., Brunton, B. Gerontological education: meeting the challenge of nursing practice. Perspectives, Winter, 7-10.

World Health Organization. (1980). Continuing Education of Health Personnel and its Evaluation. Copenhagen: Regional Office for Europe, World Health Organization.

Zahara, M. J. (1992). Abstract of dissertation. Resources, VI(6), p. 3-4.

Invisible Identity/ies: A Proposal for the Provision of a Community Adult Education Programme among the Maltese in Metro Toronto

Carmel Borg, Jennifer Camilleri and Peter Mayo

(Ontario Institute for Studies in Education)

Abstract
This article will focus on the Maltese community in Metro Toronto and its struggle for voice. The first part consists of a discussion centering around some of the issues pertinent to the everyday life of members of the community. In the light of our discussion, we propose, in the second part, an adult education strategy intended to affirm the roots of this community and provide the basis for better democratic living within the larger Toronto community.

Resumé:
L'article suivant traitera la communauté maltaise de Toronto et les efforts de cette commaunauté pour trouver des moyens de s'exprimer. La première partie de notre travail discutera quelques-uns des problèmes concernant la vie quotidienne de cette communauté. A la lumière de notre discussion, nous proposerons, dans la deuxieme parte une strategie d'enseignement des adultes, une strategie qui servera a affirmer les orignes maltaises de cette communauté et a fournir les bases d'une existence plus démocratique a l'intérieure de la communauté plus étendue de Toronto.

In this article, we focus on the Maltese community in Toronto which, we argue, is suffering from a particular kind of oppression that is given little or no consideration in the existing literature. We name this oppression as that of *small nation identity*. The trivialization of small countries in the minds of ethnocentric individuals, and institutions/organizations, has a strong bearing on the subjectivity of immigrants from these places of origin. By highlighting aspects of everyday life experienced by members of the Maltese community, the voice of a subordinate group is reclaimed, providing visibility to a community which has hitherto been invisible, its voice having been immersed in the 'culture of silence'. We also aim to explore the contradictory discourses that characterize the community. In the second half of the paper we propose an adult education strategy intended to affirm the roots of this community and provide the basis for better democratic living within the larger Toronto Community.

The marginalization of the Maltese experience is institutionalized. The Council of Europe, for instance, classifies Malta as a 'peripheral' country. The obvious connotation, given that the notion of periphery implies the existence of a centre, is that the fulcrum of mainstream European activity would be in Central Europe and Great Britain. The notion of periphery is re-echoed in the physical location of what has come to be regarded as the hub of the Maltese community in Metro Toronto. It is quite remarkable that, even in Toronto, the Maltese community was physically pushed to the margins. It had originally settled close to the St. Patrick's/Dundas' area (Downtown) but, being largely working class, could not cope with the rising cost of housing there. It eventually opted for, and was granted a parish church, by the Archbishop of Toronto, in what was, in 1930, and for several more years, the city's periphery or junction,as it is still known. Bonavia (1988), cited in Sciriha (1988), argues that 8000 of the 100,000 people of Maltese origin, which, according to a rough estimate, are believed to be living in Canada, are concentrated around this area of Metro-Toronto (Sciriha, 1988: 34). In Maltese villages and towns, the parish church characteristically constitutes the hub of social life. This is also reflected in the vernacular townscape, where the more important local institutions (cafes, shops, police station, band clubs, soccer clubs, political clubs, etc.) were grouped near the centre of the village, close to the parish church. The Maltese community in Toronto, as equally fanatically religious as the Maltese in Malta and Gozo, moved from the Downtown area to settle around the new parish at what was then the periphery of the city. The marginalization of the community was therefore given its physical manifestation in the movement from "centre" to "periphery".

Marginalization is intensified in a context where people are immersed in a sense of powerlessness. The colonial experience has bequeathed to the Maltese what Parkin (1975) refers to as a "subordinate value system" (quoted in Zammit, 1984, p 16), into which the predominantly working class immigrants, who came to Toronto in the 1950s and 1960s, had been socialized. Without minimizing the value of covert resistance, we argue that the mentality of adaptation, rather than confrontation, transported to Canada as part of the Maltese complex, contributed heavily to the marginalization of the Maltese voice.

The notion of marginalization is strengthened by the attitudes exhibited by members of the second or third generations of Maltese immigrants in Canada. The Maltese parish priest and community/cultural worker - Raymond Falzon - indicated, in a taped interview, that these people see themselves as Canadian and refer only to their parents and grandparents as being Maltese. The sense of Maltese identity, therefore, gets progressively lost within the family across generations. Furthermore, he also emphasized the fact that those who "make it", including those who take up a profession, tend to leave the community and move to the suburbs. And research by Sciriha (1988) seems to indicate that intergenerational upward mobility seems to be high in Maltese-Canadian families where 30% of the third generation, dealt with in her survey involving twenty 'three generation' families, are university students (pp.35, 36). The tendency to leave the community is also manifested by members of the Maltese middle class who have emigrated to Toronto. While keeping their distance from what is perceived as the Maltese zone, they are quick in renouncing Maltese mannerisms and use their grip on the English language and their British-style education to make a quick entry into Torontonian life - buying into the 'WASP' hegemony. There are cases of Maltese persons who have changed their last name or have given it an Anglo touch, or who have kept their ethnic identity a secret. While we cannot deny the 'subordinated class' factor involved here, it would not be amiss to state that these people consider 'being Maltese' as a ticket to nowhere and, consequently, perpetuate the community's marginalization.

The young generation of Maltese immigrants, with few exceptions, negates the importance of what could easily have been its heritage language. Again, Sciriha (1988) indicates, in her survey, that only 10% of third generation Maltese-Canadians speak Maltese and that, at the time of her survey, only 130 students attended the Maltese heritage programme at James Culnam School, a very low percentage of Maltese-Canadians indeed! (pp.38, 39). Members of this generation are generally conversant only in the dominant English language. This situation is reinforced by the fact that the Maltese parents either speak to them solely in English, given that they would normally have a smattering of the language prior to coming to Canada, or else, speak the vernacular while receiving responses in English[1]. The former situation can be taken as an indication of how we Maltese are often complicit in our own oppression. The notion that we are 'small' and of 'negligible importance' is something that we internalize and, therefore, it is easy for us to dessicate our own roots. The latter situation, on the other hand, creates a conflicting juncture of discourse, whereby the rather ghettoized world view (*Weltanschauung*) of the parents is juxtapozed against the more expansive one resulting from the children's cultural assimilation. We can speak, here, in terms of a conflict between remaining within sharply delineated boundaries and crossing them to the point of negating them.

It would be foolish to regard oppression as something being perpetrated solely from without. The 'oppressor consciousness' inside us leads us to collude in oppressive structures. In order to be counted, we totally identify ourselves with the concept of being 'European', rather than with being Southern European or Mediterranean. Such an identification has its unsavoury aspects, which include a racism predicated on eurocentrism which is reflected, among other things, in the tendency to construct anybody who does not fit the 'European image' as being 'other'. This is one reason why, for example, the Libyan community in Malta has never been accepted by the rest of the population, despite the existence of historical and economic ties between Maltese and Arabs. These racist attitudes are perpetuated within the Maltese Metro Toronto community. Members of particular races are constructed as 'other' and are perceived as sources of danger to the Maltese and their property, if not to the future of Canada![2] And one can possibly construe the Maltese traditional alignment, in metro Toronto, with Southern Italians, as a means of emphasizing this 'Europeanness' and therefore a larger and more internationally affirmed identity.

---

[1] Taped interviews with members of the Maltese community in the Junction area.

We also encounter overt forms of patriarchy in the very processes intended to keep alive the Maltese identity. Those social clubs which have been constructed for the purpose of promoting this identity and strengthening the development of the Maltese community are very exclusionary, even with respect to Maltese persons. With a few notable exceptions, these centres can be considered as exclusively 'male' clubs. On each occasion that we have visited one of the most popular clubs in the area, we have rarely seen women around, except for the one or two women who serve behind the counter or in the kitchen. This replicates the *machismo* to be found in our towns and villages, back home, whereby it is common for Maltese men to spend their evenings away from the family, drinking beer and playing billiards/darts or cards in the *kazin* (soccer, band or political party club). In addition to serving as sites for patriarchal affirmation, these clubs further exacerbate marginalization by refusing to act as a common front. The Maltese strongly identify themselves with their respective clubs. Consequently, there is very little transfusion between these clubs.

Of course, it would be foolish to associate the presence of racism and patriarchy exclusively with communities characterised by small nation identity. These situations, notably the existence of predominantly men's clubs, are to be found in several other districts inhabited by people of Southern European origin. One has only to enter some of the Italian and Portuguese bars on College or St. Clair to confirm this view. These are Southern European manifestations of that kind of oppression which is after all universal. We emphasize, however, this aspect of the Maltese community to indicate the multiplicity of subjectivities involved in processes of structural and systemic oppression.

It is important to note that there are attempts to assert aspects of Maltese cultures. Shops specializing in Maltese bakery products can be found on the section of Dundas Street West where many Maltese live. The feasts of patron saints, celebrated nationally or in particular Maltese parishes, are replicated in Toronto. One thing which strikes us though is that, quite often, the sense of Maltese cultures being projected is a stagnant one, which hardly reflects the organic nature of Maltese cultures in the country of origin. There the cultures tend to be dynamic. The view of Maltese cultures projected within the community in Metro Toronto is often one which dates back to the period when the Maltese immigrants left their country of origin for Canada. A perfect illustration of this is provided by the traditional Maltese bakery product *ravjul* which is still being produced, at least in one prominent Maltese bakery shop, in the Junction, in a size which is almost double that currently served in homes and restaurants in the country of origin. The size still being preferred in the bakery shop is one which recalls the way it was cooked, in Malta, two or three decades ago.

We feel that, once we have named a new kind of oppression which, together with other oppressions (e.g. class location), constitutes part of the Maltese immigrants' subjectivity , it is pertinent , at this point, to echo Foucault (1980) in saying "Where there is power, there is resistance,..." (p.95). Resistance is manifest in the way some members of the older generation have entrenched themselves within a static version of what they affirm as Maltese cultures. It is, as we have stressed, cultures as they knew them before leaving Malta for Canada. This entrenchment can be construed as a form of resistance to the sort of situation that they feared, and presumably still fear, namely that of assimilation, which fear is confirmed given, as we have stated earlier, the attitude towards 'being Maltese' shown by members of the second and third generations. Yet the above statement from Foucault (1980: 95) is incomplete. The rest of the statement reads as follows: " and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power". In our view, this is true of the situation regarding cultural entrenchment. In their entrenchment, members of the Maltese community in Metro Toronto are preventing borders from being crossed, which 'border crossings', provided that they consist of a way of working across difference, could revitalize the expatriate Maltese cultures themselves. In remaining entrenched, one is feeding into the power structure of what has been constructed as a 'multicultural society'[3] . An inorganic sense of Maltese cultures is what feeds into the present hegemony in which a dominant group is presented as the invisible norm presupposed by the existence of the "insular" other. As Hazel Carby (1989) states, with regard to the construction of blackness in relation to a normative whiteness, "the process of marginalization itself is central to the formation of the dominant culture"(in Giroux, 1992: 127)[4] .

---

[2] We gathered this from informal discussions with members of the community held within different social meeting places within the Junction area.

The Programme

Based on interviews we have carried out among members of the Maltese community in Metro Toronto, it is clear that there are very few organized processes of adult education intended to affirm the identity of the community members and to empower them to reclaim their voice. A few connected with the parish church, which is projected by the parish priest as a cultural centre, have been encouraged to and indeed did undergo a programme of leadership skills. This programme was offered outside the community[5] . Other than this, there seems to be little evidence of work carried out in the area of organized adult education. We feel that a community-based adult education programme would be an important vehicle to keep the community roots alive and, at the same time, serve as a bridge between its cultures and those pertaining to other groups within the larger community. It is for this reason that we argue for the development of a *critical citizenship programme*, an idea inspired by the writings of Henry Giroux (1980, 1992). It is a programme which would enable the Metro Toronto Maltese to "cross borders"(Giroux, 1992), but not to the point of negating their own roots. It would be firmly anchored in Maltese cultures, but would also be projected outwards for the purpose of cross-cultural transfer.

The process of accessing the community members' views is vital to the democratization of the process. In the tradition of a learner-centered pedagogy, the learners own words, experiences and needs would be used to dictate the contents of the curriculum, in the hope that learning, in these cultural sites, becomes a meaningful experience which, in certain cases, can go some way towards making up for years of alienating, ineffective schooling. By expressing faith in the learners and their words and stories as a valid meaningful foundation on which to build the curriculum, rather than using the prescriptive approach, the cultural workers, implementing the learner-centred approach, generate ideas, skills, learning situations and materials from and with the learners within their own social context. The centrality of the social context in the curriculum is indispensable, especially given the main aim of the programme, which is to present a critical approach to living the life of a Maltese immigrant in Toronto. It is envisaged that the learners would also take an active part in the organization and running of the programmes. Such a process would help learners acquire new skills and experience a sense of *ownership* of the programmes Gaber-Katz and Watson, 1991).

It is envisaged that there would be two kinds of cultural circles, one in which basic literacy skills are combined with concepts relating to Maltese and Canadian cultures, and the other dealing exclusively with the latter. Our interviews and interactions with the community members lead us to consider Maltese Language teaching as pivotal to the programme. The general concern is that this heritage language, the hallmark of the Maltese identity/ties, and therefore voice/s, is petering out among the second and third generations of Maltese. This is also the conclusion reached by Sciriha (1988) in her survey : "The results of the present study show that Maltese language death in the community studied seems to be inevitable within twenty or thirty years" (p.40). The teaching of the Maltese language within Maltese and Canadian contexts provides participants with an opportunity to interrogate critically aspects of their past and present, and helps generate language that names their experience, consolidates their sense of community, and empowers them to become agents of change. Story telling constitutes an excellent medium for critical literacy. Story telling not only serves to undercut the dominant mode of discourse in teaching, but provides participants with an opportunity to experience knowledge as emerging from action. In Martin's (1986) words, stories represent a "mode of explanation necessary for an understanding of life" (p.7). Through stories people capture the complexity, specificity and interconnectedness of life as lived in particular contexts (Carter, 1993). Thus, by engaging in story telling, participants are encouraged to relive their personal and collective experiences as political texts. In this way stories, serve not only as a linguistic source for reading the word, but also as backdrop for a political reading of the world (Cf. Macedo & Freire, 1987). In this respect, the recuperation of collective histories becomes an important element in the envisaged process of personal and communal empowerment. The use of past photographs and other memorabilia, relating to experiences in bygone Malta and Canada, can serve to recuperate personal and, through interaction, collective historical moments that, with judicious prompting by the cultural worker, can shed critical light on the present ('now time') in order to suggest possibilities for a transformative future (that which is 'not yet'). Personal recollections, by elderly members of the community, of the war and post-war years in Malta can, with critical input by the facilitator (something akin to Freire's 'hinge themes'), lead to a consideration of the situation of the Maltese within the context of eurocentric imperialism. As a result, connections can be made between Malta's long history of colonialism and the situation of Maltese immigrant communities as subaltern groups in industrialised countries characterised by Anglo-white dominance[6] These connections would, hopefully, highlight the role of Maltese as both oppressors and oppressed and possibly have a transformative effect - a sort of 'redemptive memory', in Walter Benjamin's sense of the term - on the learners, enabling them to live critically within and outside the community.

---

[3] We are indebted to Toni Xerri for helping us develop this point.

[4] For a discussion on this issue, see also Henry Giroux, 1992, pp.126, 127.

[5] Taped interview with the Maltese parish priest/ cultural worker, Fr. Raymond Falzon.

We also feel that the acquisition of language skills in English are necessary in order that members of the community do not remain at the periphery of political life. It is imperative, however, that the language should be taught in a problematizing manner, so that learners become aware of the colonizing role English has played and continues to play in both the country of origin and in the country of settlement. As in Maltese Language sessions, the teaching of English should be immersed in Maltese culture/s. In both cases, sessions would involve some degree of instruction, as well as dialogue centering around codifications of Maltese life both in Malta and among Maltese expatriates.

In addition to exposure to basic and critical literacy, it is hoped that circle members would demonstrate an interest in experiencing Maltese cultures aesthetically. Classes in cuisine, crafts, music and dance, history and tradition, literature and theatre, and artistic heritage, have the potential of attracting large numbers of people, as judged by the attendance at festivals[7] that dot the parish's calendar. During our informal meetings with several members of the community, we discovered a wealth of talent that remains untapped. One major task of the cultural workers is to encourage members to share their skills and knowledge with other members of the community.

In the interest of enabling learners to look beyond the boundaries of their cultures and to engage in solidarity and alignment with other subordinated groups, there should be programmes dealing with other cultures in Canada, and involving interactions with other ethnic groups. These programmes would consist of sessions in which learners not only gather and disseminate information about these cultures but are also helped in the process of interrogating their own previous construction of such cultures[8], and in recognizing their own implication in the subordination of these other cultures. We feel that, in having a programme developed on such lines, the circle members would go some way in being able to work not only within but also across difference.

---

[6] On the issue of redemptive remembrance or 'dangerous memory', see the final chapter in Simon (1992) and McLaren & da Silva (1993).

[7] 1992 Parish Calendar, St. Paul the Apostle Maltese-Canadian Parish.

The reader will notice that, in advocating programmes of adult learning, we have mentioned the use of 'instruction' alongside dialogue. This, we feel, is important. Dialogue on its own, without a certain degree of instruction, could easily take on the form of "shared ignorance". While we see great potential in a dialogical education for the fostering of a sense of voice among previously silenced community members, we need to stress that a certain degree of instruction would be necessary to render this dialogue an informed one, one which can lead the learners on to greater awareness of their predicament. Echoing Freire (Shor & Freire, 1987: 103; Horton & Freire, 1990: 181), we would argue that the cultural workers should eschew all forms of authoritarianism in their teaching. This does not mean, however, that they should not be vested with authority. Furthermore, it would be amiss to assume that people, who have been in a 'culture of silence' for many years, would be willing to partake of a dialogical education overnight (Baldacchino, 1990; Mayo, 1991; 1992; 1993). As indicated by the experience of the current literacy campaign in Malta, learners often expect their educators to provide them with the literacy skills that they desire and often indicate an impatience with anyone attempting to engage in dialogue. Educators are expected to "get on" with the task of teaching them how to read and write, even if this meant indulging in 'Banking Education' (cf. Gaber-Katz & Watson, 1991). As Freire (in Horton & Freire, 1990) argues, albeit crudely, there are moments when one has to be "50% a traditional teacher and 50% a progressive teacher" (p.160). The cultural workers/educators should show discretion in alternating between the two. We also echo other writers (e.g., Freire, 1985, 1987, 1990; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1991; Giroux, 1992; Simon, 1992; McLaren & Da Silva, 1993; Brookfield, 1993) in pointing out that one should be careful not to celebrate such voices uncritically. "Common sense", according to Gramsci's (1971) definition of the term, has both its positive potential, whereby it can be converted into "good sense", and its 'bad sense'. We have indicated, earlier on, how this 'bad sense' is manifest in the racism and patriarchy which characterize aspects of life within the community.

Preoccupations with matters relating to content and process should not obscure what we regard as a very important element in a community-based education programme: the site of practice. Gaber-Katz and Watson (1991) argue that community-based programs ought to be "located in the community at convenient locations" and "open at convenient times" (p.50). The parish church and the band and soccer clubs have been identified as the main congregating sites for the Maltese. Therefore, the facilities available at these venues should be used by the cultural circles. We also feel that the sessions for men and women should be kept separate. Our segregationist view is informed by our knowledge, based on experience, of the values of many immigrants who are wary of social situations which bring together married men and women unaccompanied by their spouses. We feel that, if male and female learners are kept segregated, it would make it easier for some prospective learners to participate in the programmes. Our stand on this issue is further supported by the situation experienced in adult education in Malta where, in certain localities, people withdrew from the literacy programme as soon as they turned up for the first time and discovered that their particular class consisted mainly of members of the opposite gender. Segregation, in terms of gender, could prove beneficial in other respects. Groups consiting entirely of women would allow possibility for feminist consciousness raising to take place within the Maltese community. It would also allow for special arrangements to be made with a view to accommodating the specific requirements of those women, within the community, who engage in unwaged labour as homemakers. This point is frequently made with respect to adult education programmes in Malta[9], although the situation regarding the gender division of labour within the family seems to be different in the Maltese community in Metro-Toronto, where several married women engage in waged labour[10].

---

[8] The inspiration for this idea derived from a presentation, by a teaching/learning team,on the issue of 'Facilitating Across Difference', in Course1110, *Basic Processes in Adult Learning Facilitation*, offered in the Department of Adult Education, The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, in the Fall of 1992.

Furthermore, it is hoped that the cultural centres will eventually develop into sites for political action. As Gaber-Katz and Watson (1991) suggest, part of the responsibility of a community adult education programme "is to link literacy and participation, and to integrate learning with taking action on what has been learned" (p.43). In this way, *praxis*, defined by Freire (1972) as "the action and reflection of men (sic) upon the world in order to transform it" (p.52), becomes the true expression of liberation. It is through action that the programme concretizes the struggle for voice and democracy, transforming the *language of critique* into a *project of possibility*.

References

Aronowitz, S. & Giroux, H. A. (1991), *Postmodern Education*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Baldacchino, G. (1990), *Worker Cooperatives with Particular Reference to Malta: An Educationist's Theory and Practice*, The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.

Bonavia, G. (1988), *Maltese Directory*, Ottawa: Malta Service Bureau.

Brookfield, S. (1993), 'Breaking the Code: Engaging Practitioners in Critical Analysis of Adult Educational Literature' in *Studies in the Education of Adults*, Vol. 25, No. 1.

Carter, K. (1993), 'The Place of Story in the Study of Teaching and Teacher Education' in *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 5-12, 18.

Gaber-Katz, E. and Watson, G.M. (1991), *The land that we dream of...a participatory study of community-based literacy*, Toronto: OISE Press.

Giroux, H. (1980), 'Critical Theory and Rationality in Citizenship Education' in *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 10, No. 4.

Giroux, H. A. (1992), *Border Crossings Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* , New York, London: Routledge.

Gramsci, A. (1971), *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, New York: International Publishers.

Horton, M & Freire, P. (1990),*We make the road by walking*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Martin, W. (1986), *Recent Theories of Narrative*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Mayo. P (1991), 'Pedagogy and Politics in the Work of Paulo Freire' in *Education (Malta)*, Vol. 4, No.1.

Mayo. P (1992), Review of Horton, M & Freire, P.(1990),*We make the road by walking*, in *Convergence*, Vol. XXV, No. 2.

Mayo, P. (1993). 'Freire's Pedagogy in Context' in *Studies in the Education of Adults*, Vol. 25, No. 1.

McLaren, P & da Silva, T. T., (1993), 'Decentering Pedagogy: Critical Literacy, Resistance and the Politicsof Memory' in

---

[9] A recent access programme in Malta, organised by the Commission for the Advancement of Women and the Adult Education Unit of the Department of Education, attracted large numbers of women precisely because it is being held during the morning. According to recent OECD figures, Malta has the lowest rate of female participation in the labour market. It is no surprise therefore that, in Malta, programmes intended for women are likely to attract a large number of participants if they are held during the morning.

[10] Taped interviews with members of the Maltese community in the Junction area. Sciriha (1988) confirms this view by indicating, in her survey, that, whereas only 5% of the first generation of married women go out to work, 45% of the second generation of married women do likewise (p.36).

McLaren, P. & Leonard, P. (eds.), *Paulo Freire: A Critical Encounter*, New York, London: Routledge.

Parkin, F. (1975), Class, *Inequality and Political Order*, Suffolk: Paladin.

Sciriha, L. (1988), 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift of the Maltese Migrants in Canada' in *Journal of Maltese Studies*

Shor, I & Freire, P. (1987), *A Pedagogy for Liberation*, Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey.

Carby, H.V. (1989), 'The Canon: Civil War and Reconstruction', *Michigan Quarterly Review*, Vol. 28, No.1.

Foucault, M. (1980), *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, N. York: Vintage Books.

Giroux, H. (1992). *Border Crossings Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*, New York, London: Routledge.

Huyssens, A. (1984). 'Mapping the post-modern', *New German Critique*, 33, 5-52

Zammit, E. L., (1984), *A Colonial Inheritance*, Msida: Malta University Press.

Research Paradigms in Adult Education: A Dialectical Account

Derek Briton
University of Alberta

Abstract: This paper suggests that adult educators can employ the notion of "dialectic" introduced by Hegel and employed extensively by Marx in his materialist critique of modernity to construct a schema that allows the relations among positivist, interpretive, critical, and postmodern modes of analysis to be examined.

Résumé: Cet papier suggére que les enseignants d'adultes peuvent se servir de la notion dialectique, introduit par Hegel et se servi beaucoup par Marx dans sa critique matérialiste de modernité, afin de proposer un schéma qui permet l'examen des relations qui existent parmi les modes positives, interprétifs, critiques, et postmodernes.

Introduction

While the vast majority of adult education graduate programs continue to promote positivist research programs that garner empirical-analytic knowledge,[1] a growing number of graduate students are becoming interested in the knowledge forms of interpretive, critical, and postmodern modes of inquiry. The task of judging the merits and failings of these competing perspectives can be a daunting one, however. How, after all, does one compare modes of inquiry that proceed from fundamentally different suppositions? The central contention of this paper is that adult educators can develop a sensitivity to and an understanding of these competing research paradigms if they consider them as logically related "moments" in a dialectical progression, such as that first described by Hegel in the *Phenomenology of Spirit* and developed in his *Science of Logic*. This should not, however, be taken as an unconditional endorsement of Hegel's philosophical system, for as Bernstein (1971) notes: "what Hegel sometimes seems to have taken as an established truth is better understood as a heuristic principle" (p. 8). Marx, in fact, strongly opposed Hegel's idealist philosophy but clearly endorsed the dialectical method. Ollman (1990), for instance, notes that Marx was convinced that "where Hegel goes wrong is in believing that the interconnections he sees in the material world are mere copies of relations existing between ideas. By turning Hegel, who was 'standing on his head,' right side up, Marx corrects this error" (p. 54).

In his seminal work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn (1970) contends that if there is a disagreement about the worth of a particular mode of inquiry within a community of researchers, "there is no neutral algorithm for theory-choice, no systematic decision procedure which, properly applied, must lead each individual… to the same decision" (p. 200). Consequently, "in the controversies that arise when new and rival paradigms are proposed…, there are no criteria of logical proof or any straightforward appeals to evidence that are *sufficient* to resolve the dispute" (Bernstein, 1983, p. 22).[2] Kuhn is adamant on this point, insisting that

> like the choice between competing political institutions, that between competing paradigms proves to be a choice between incompatible modes of community life. Because it has that character, the choice cannot be

---

[1] In an insightful analysis of the adult education handbooks published between 1934 and 1989, Wilson (1991) reveals that (1) "empirical-analytic knowledge is the dominant form of knowledge in adult education, (2) "university researchers in the field of adult education have relied on empirical-analytic knowledge to develop the knowledge base of adult education in order to control the development of the field as a profession," and (3) "this professionalization process depends on using empirical-analytic knowledge to standardize professional practice in order to develop a market share in a service economy, to systematize both the practice and training of practitioners, and to use science as a solution to social problems" (p. i).

[2] Patton (1975) describes a paradigm as "a world view, a general perspective, a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. As such, paradigms are deeply embedded in the socialization of adherents and practitioners telling them what is important, what is legitimate, what is reasonable. Paradigms are normative; they tell the practitioner what to do without the necessity of long existential or epistemological considerations" (p. 9).

> determined merely by the evaluative procedures of normal science, for these depend in part upon a particular paradigm, and that paradigm is at issues. When paradigms enter, as they must, into a debate about paradigm choice, their role is necessarily circular. Each group uses its own paradigm to argue in that paradigm's defense. (p. 94).

Proposing a Heuristic

How, then, are adult educators to understand or ascertain the worth of fundamentally different modes of inquiry if there is no common standard on which to base their judgement? This is where Hegel's notion of dialectic proves especially fruitful, for it allows paradigms to be judged not in terms of some *external*, meta-standard but in terms of their own *internal* standards. However, we need to be clear upon what the notion of dialectic entails. While Hegel's dialectic is often summarily described as a mechanical movement from thesis to antithesis to synthesis, such accounts fail to recognize that the dialectic is a dynamic and organic process. It is, Bernstein (1971) argues, a progression in which

> one "moment" of a dialectical process, when it is fully developed or understood gives rise to its own negation; it is not mechanically confronted by an antithesis. The process here is more like that of a tragedy where the "fall" of the tragic hero emerges from the dynamics of the development of his own character.... [Subsequently,] a serious struggle takes place between the two "moments." Out of this conflict and struggle, out of this negativity, emerges a "moment" which at once negates, affirms, and transcends the "moments" involved in the struggle. (p. 20)

A useful way of comparing and understanding the positivist, interpretive, critical, and postmodern modes of inquiry, I want to suggest, is as related moments in a dialectical progression: the interpretive paradigm as the antithesis of the positivist, and the critical as the synthesis of the positivist and interpretive, since it embraces aspects of each paradigm while negating others, only to transcend both. Only with the emergence of postmodernism does the notion of a dialectical progression become problematic, for while postmodernism can be construed as the antithesis of the critical paradigm, its critique calls into question the very idea of *progress*, "the superiority of the present over the past, the modern over the pre-modern" (Rosenau, 1992, p. 6).[3] This does not, however, detract from the value of employing the notion of a dialectical progression as a heuristic to help adult educators develop a general understanding of the various modes of inquiry that can be employed to inform adult education practice and research.

Positivism

While many accounts of positivism portray it as an unreflective, ingenuous world view, such accounts fail to explain its axiomatic grip on the modern mind. Positivism, in fact, is an amalgam of ideas that articulate together, lending strength to and drawing strength from one another. These "positive" ideas can be envisaged as the nodal points of a geodesic sphere that radiate from one central idea at the sphere's core—the idea that knowledge is the internal *representation* of an outer reality. To refute one aspect of positivism, then, does little to disturb the structure as a whole. Keat (1981) contends that "we can identify at least four doctrines, each of which may not unreasonably be termed 'positivist'...: 'scientism,' 'the positivist conception of science,' 'scientific politics,' and 'value-freedom' " (p. 15). All of these "positive" doctrines hinge on the representational view of knowledge and articulate together to constitute a hegemonic bloc, a positivist alliance that further consolidates its power by constructing a notion of the human subject that is amenable to the forms of moral and intellectual leadership positivism can provide.

---

[3] There are those who contest this claim, however. Langford (1992), for instance, contends that "Rather than being a challenge to the Enlightenment,... postmodernism is necessitated by it and exists not as an external critique but as a product of the ongoing dialectic that Enlightenment thought maintains with itself" (p. 26).

The first, *scientism*, holds that scientific knowledge is the only genuine form of knowledge, deeming all other forms of knowledge—religion, metaphysics, law, politics, and ethics, for example—inferior or meaningless. The logical positivists of the Vienna Circle were scientism's most memorable supporters, formulating a Verifiability Principle that proved so stringent that their own doctrine could not meet the requirements of "legitimate" knowledge.[4] Nonetheless, "in the knowledge hierarchies of postfeudal societies, modern scientific rationality is the privileged discourse, and all others are relegated to the margins. As a result, institutions of the state as well as the economy—education systems, government bureaus, the law and criminal justice systems—emulate scientific procedures within the constraints imposed by their own traditions and exigencies" (Aronowitz, 1988, pp. 8–9).

The second, *the positivist conception of science*, considers the aim of science to be that of the explanation and prediction of observable phenomena, in terms of universal, atemporal, and aspatial laws. While the truth of statements intended to express such laws is determined *solely* by their logical relationship to other nonuniversal statements that describe particular observable "data" or "facts," statements of scientific laws may contain "theoretical" terms that do not refer to observables, *but* such referents must, in principle, be observable, that is, "falsifiable."

The third, *scientific politics*, demands that political decisions be made according to the technical application of social scientific knowledge, as opposed to wishes, opinions, values, power, or persuasion. "Here," Keat (1981) notes, "the ideal is the use of scientific knowledge to provide rational solutions to all problems concerning the organization of society, and to free such decisions from influences of a non-scientific (and thus supposedly non-rational) kind" (p. 18).

The fourth, *value-freedom*, denies the possibility of scientific politics, maintaining that it is essential to isolate the scientific realm from the political or moral realm of values. In the scientific realm, criteria that determine the validity of scientific theories, it is argued, must not refer to a moral or political position: truth or falsity must not be determined from a normative position. Furthermore, in the moral or political realm, scientific knowledge cannot be used to justify claims, for science is about what *is* the case, not what *ought* to be; consequently, people can justifiably disagree about the desirability of claims, even when such claims are established scientifically.

From this "positive" alliance, three connected but purportedly "objective" and "value-free" ideas emerge, ideas that serve to constitute the modern "positive" or "natural" subject and further consolidate the positivist world view:

> The first is the picture of the subject as ideally disengaged, that is, as free and rational to the extent that he has fully distinguished himself from his natural and social worlds, so that his identity is no longer to be defined in terms of what lies outside him in these worlds. The second, which flows form this, is a punctual view of the self, ideally ready qua free and rational to treat these worlds—and even some of the features of his own character—instrumentally, as subject to change and reordering in order the better to secure the welfare of himself and other like subjects. The third is the social consequence of the first two: an atomistic construal of society constituted by, or ultimately to be explained in terms of, individual purposes. (Taylor, 1987, pp. 471–472)

It is this denatured conception of human beings, of a passive, "natural" subject who "is a *spectator* and *listener* who has been placed before the great visual and acoustic spectacle that is life" (Nietzsche, 1974, pp. 240–241), of a timeless, placeless being whose meaningful experience is limited to the tangible and measurable, of a sensuous, sentient being reduced to a rule-governed, self-interested automaton, that has prompted the strongest critiques of positivism.

---

[4] This is the aspect of positivism that Popper—often referred to as a proponent of positivism—rejected out-of-hand, arguing that while science must be distinguished from nonscience, that which is not scientific is not without meaning. Frisby (1972), however, notes that Popper "did share their [the logical positivists'] interest in the foundation of an empiricist philosophy" (p. 106).

The Interpretive Critique

Hans-Georg Gadamer offers one of the most forceful interpretive critiques of positivism, developing the perspective of *Philosophical Hermeneutics* as the negation of not only positivism's "beliefs in the disengaged subject, the punctual self, and described atomism" (Taylor, 1987, p. 476) but also the representational understanding of knowledge that lies at the very core of the positivist world view. By drawing upon the work of Heidegger and reintroducing the traditional German distinction between the natural sciences, the *Naturwissenschaften*, and the human sciences, the *Geisteswissenschaften*,[5] Gadamer reveals (1) that the methodology of the former is totally inappropriate for the latter, undermining scientism's aspirations of universality; (2) that prejudices are, in fact, the condition for the possibility of knowledge and not something we can ever rid ourselves of, calling into question the notion of objectivity that informs the positivist conception of science; (3) that "man always finds himself in an 'acting situation' and he is always obliged to use ethical knowledge and apply it according to the exigencies of his concrete situation" (Gadamer, 1979, p. 140), denying the possibility of a scientific politics or a value-free human science; and (4) that our disengaged representations of the world are only possible on condition that we are already "engaged in coping with our world, dealing with the things in it, at grips with them" (Taylor, 1987, p. 476), undermining the notion that knowledge, first and foremost, is comprised of our inner representations of an external reality. In demonstrating that in the human sciences, "the fact that in the knowing involved in them the knower's own being is involved marks, certainly, the limitation of 'method' " (pp. 446–447), Gadamer (1975) anticipates the concerns of adult educators, such as, Briton and Plumb (1992, 1992b) , Collard and Law (1989), Collins (1991), Cunningham (1989), Hart (1990), and Welton (1990), who share the concern that

> the problem of our society is that the longing of the citizenry for orientation and normative patterns invests the expert with an exaggerated authority. Modern society expects [her or] him to provide a substitute for past moral and political orientations. Consequently, the concept of '*praxis*' which was developed in the last two centuries is an awful deformation of what practice really is. In all the debates of the last century practice was understood as application of science to technical tasks.... *It degrades practical reason to technical control*. (Gadamer, 1975b, p. 312, emphasis added)

The Critical Perspective

Jürgen Habermas has developed what is arguably the most comprehensive account of a critical social theory. Habermas's theory of *Communicative Action* can be considered the synthesis of positivism and *Philosophical Hermeneutics* because it incorporates aspects of each perspective in an attempt to transcend both. With Gadamer, Habermas (1972) argues against scientism: "science's belief in itself: that is, the conviction that we can no longer understand science as one form of possible knowledge, but rather must identify knowledge with science" (p. 4); but he rejects Gadamer's contention that the subordination of technical knowledge to practical knowledge is sufficient, in itself, to free human beings from the distortive and oppressive elements of tradition and authority. In accordance with the tradition of historical materialism, Habermas holds that because the very concepts we employ to investigate our understanding arise from concrete lived experiences that are *always already* shaped by asymmetrical power relations, such oppressive structures cannot be grasped or transformed by thinking about them, but only by transforming them—recall Marx's eleventh thesis on Feuerbach: "the philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it." Consequently, Habermas introduces a third form of knowledge that articulates with, rather than displaces, positivism's control-oriented, technical, empirical-analytic knowledge and Gadamer's understanding-oriented, practical, hermeneutic knowledge: a freedom-oriented, emancipatory, critical form of knowledge. While Habermas denies the emancipatory potential of both scientific and practical reason, he fully endorses the belief that liberty can be realized through the application of a universal reason, proposing his own *Universal Pragmatics* as the means to realize the Enlightenment ideal of Freedom.

---

[5] "In the Anglo-American tradition, intellectual disciplines fall into the trichotomy of the natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities, but on the Continent they are categorized according to the dichotomy between the *Naturwissenschaften* and the *Geisteswissenschaften* (the expression that was introduced into German as a translation for what Mill called the 'moral sciences'). In the main tradition of Anglo-American thought—at least until recently—the overwhelming bias has been to think of the social sciences as *natural sciences* concerning individuals in their social relations. The assumption has been that the social sciences differ in the degree and not in kind from the natural sciences and that ideally the methods and standards appropriate to the natural sciences can be extended by analogy to the social sciences. But in the German tradition there has been a much greater tendency to think of the social disciplines as forms of *Geisteswissenschaften* sharing essential characteristics with the humanistic disciplines" (Bernstein, 1983, p. 35).

The Postmodern Perspective

Postmodern modes of inquiry can be considered the antithesis of the critical perspective proposed by Habermas because they seek to negate all attempts to "liberate" humanity according to a universal form of reason. Postmodernists argue that all attempts to formulate an "objective" form of reason "inevitably turn into vulgar or sophisticated forms of ethnocentrism in which some privileged understanding of rationality is falsely legitimated by claiming for it an unwarranted universality" (Bernstein, 1983, p. 19). As Rosenau (1992) notes:

> post-modernism challenges global, all-encompassing world views, be they political, religious or social…, reduces Marxism, Christianity, fascism, Stalinism, capitalism, liberal democracy, secular humanism, feminism, Islam, and modern science to the same order and dismisses them all as logocentric, transcendental totalizing meta-narratives that anticipate all questions and provide pre-determined answers. All such systems of thought rest on assumptions no more or no less certain than those of witchcraft, astrology, or primitive cults.… The post-modern goal is not to formulate an alternative set of assumptions but to register the impossibility of establishing any such underpinning for knowledge…, to "delegitimate all mastercodes." (p. 6)

Many of those who recognize the legitimacy of the postmodern critique argue that "there is no room here for disappointment," pointing out to those who are intimidated by the uncertainty of the postmodern condition that

> we are living… one of the most exhilarating moments of the twentieth century: a moment in which new generations, without the prejudices of the past, without theories presenting themselves as "absolute truths" of history, are constructing new emancipatory discourses, more human, diversified and democratic. The eschatological and epistemological ambitions are more modest, but the liberating aspirations are wider and deeper. (Laclau and Mouffe, 1990, p. 98)

Conclusion

In this synopsis of positivist, interpretive, critical, and postmodern modes of inquiry, I have argued that adult educators can employ Hegel's notion of dialectic to construct a schema that allows the relations among these four prospective research paradigms to be explored. This schema, I hope, will provide adult educators with an understanding of these perspectives that is sufficient to invoke an interest in pursuing them further.

References

Aronowitz, S. (1988). *Science as Power: Discourse and ideology in modern society*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bernstein, R. J. (1983). *Beyond objectivism and relativism: Science, hermeneutics, and praxis*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

Bernstein, R. J. (1971). *Praxis and action: Contemporary philosophies of human activity*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.

Briton, D., & Plumb, D. (1992). Roboed: Re-imaging adult education. In the *Proceedings of the 11th Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education* (38–43). Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan.

Briton, D., & Plumb, D. (1992b). Vaclav Havel, postmodernism, and modernity: The implications for adult education in the West. In the *Proceedings of the 33rd. Annual Conference of the Adult Education Research Conference* (19–24). Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan.

Collard, S., & Law, M. (1989). The limits of perspective transformation: A critique of Mezirow's theory. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *39*, 2, 99–107.

Collins, M. (1991). *Adult education as vocation: A critical role for the adult educator*. London: Routledge.

Cunningham, P. (1989). Making a more significant impact on society. In A. Quigley (Ed.), *New directions for continuing education: Fulfilling the promise of adult and continuing education* (33–46). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Gadamer, H. G, (1975). *Truth and method*. (G. Barden & J Cunningham, Trans.). New York: Seabury.

Gadamer, H. G, (1975b). Hermeneutics and social science. *Cultural Hermeneutics*, *2*, 307–316.

Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action* (vol. 1, T. McCarthy, Trans.). Boston: Beacon.

Habermas, J. (1972). *Knowledge and human interests* (J., J. Shapiro, Trans.). London: Heinemann.

Hart, M. (1990). Liberation through consciousness raising. In J. Mezirow & Assocs., (Eds.), *Fostering critical reflection in adulthood: A guide to emancipatory learning* (pp. 47–73). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Keat, R. (1981). *The politics of social theory: Habermas, Freud and the critique of positivism*. Chicago: Basil Blackwell.

Kuhn, T., S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1990). Post-Marxism without apologies. In E. Laclau, *New reflections on the revolution of our time* (pp. 97–132). London: Verso.

Nietzsche, F. (1974). *The gay science* (W. Kaufmann, Trans.). New York: Vintage.

Ollman, B. (1990). *Alienation: Marx's concept of man in capitalist society* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1975). *Alternative evaluation research paradigms*. Grand Forks: University of North Dakota Press.

Rosenau, P. M. (1992). *Post-modernism and the social sciences: Insights, inroads, and intrusions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Taylor, C. (1987). Overcoming epistemology. In K. Baynes, J. Bohman, & T. McCarthy, (Eds.), *After philosophy: End or transformation*? (pp. 464–488). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Welton, M R. (1990). Shaking the foundation: The critical turn in adult education theory. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *5*, 21–42.

Wilson, A. N. (1991). *Epistemological foundations of American adult education, 1934 to 1989: A study of knowledge and interests*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia. Athens.

Remapping Adult Education: Post-Hegemonic Possibilities

Derek Briton & Donovan Plumb
University of Alberta

Abstract: This paper considers the hegemony of the adult education associations to be a product of modernity and the emerging resistance to this hegemony to be an effect of postmodernity. It argues for a remapping of adult education, for a post-hegemonic adult education that is sensitive to the field's many positionalities.

Résumé: Ce papier considère que l' hégémoniè des associations d' éducation d' adultes est un produit de la modernité et que la résistance naissance à cette hégémoniè est un produit de la postmodernité. L' étude revendique donc des modifications dans l' éducation d' adultes en tant que discipline, c' est à dire une éducation d' adultes post-hégémonique qui soit sensible aux différences perspectives de la discipline.

Introduction

From the 14th century on, European cartographers mapped the purportedly "natural" landmarks and boundaries of the world's uncharted regions. That these cartographers interpreted the terrain they mapped from a distinctly European perspective has only recently come to light. The significance of the features they recorded and the boundaries they drew, however, has proven to be a function of their European interpretive framework, rather than the regions they charted. The maps these cartographers produced were, for the most part, received without question because they served to further the interests of Europe's hegemonic powers.

In a similar manner, North American adult education associations charted the domain of adult education in their handbooks.[1] These maps of adult education's terrain were received unquestioningly because they served to further the hegemonic interests of the various associations. Not until very recently has the hegemony of these associations been seriously challenged. This paper considers the hegemony the adult education associations enjoyed to be a product of modernity and the emerging resistance to this hegemony to be an effect of postmodernity. It argues, therefore, that those who wish to be actively involved in the remapping of adult education should take into consideration theoretical frameworks that are sensitive to the discourses of modernity and postmodernity.

Establishing Hegemony

Prior to the advent of the Second World War, adult education practices in North America were disparate and unorganized. Adult educators developed knowledge and practices specific to the interests of the locales and regions in which they practiced.[2] The institutionalization of adult education was in its infancy and adult educators in the academy had yet to define an object of study, a body of knowledge, and a range of practices that would legitimate adult education as a science, to constitute what Foucault (1972) terms a "discursive formation." This, however, was no easy task, since it demanded that "alternative knowledge forms" be subjugated and cast "outside the arbitrarily delineated field" (Welton, 1991, p. 26) and that the newly unified and circumscribed field accommodate the "scientific" discourses of the day—Fordism, in the workplace; objectivity and value-freedom, in the academy; and individualism, in the marketplace.

---

[1] See Wilson's (1992) analysis of adult education handbooks published between 1934 and 1989.

[2] The parochial concerns of early adult educators, Wilson (1991) argues, is evident in the submissions to the 1934 Handbook.

Heralded as the harbinger of modernity, science had spilled out of the laboratories into the productive and cultural realms, shaping the very psyche of North Americans in the process. Articulating with "psychological propensities, such as individualism and the drive for personal fulfillment through self-expression, the search for security and collective identity, the need to acquire self-respect, status, or some other mark of individual identity," "scientific management of all facets of corporate activity..., the hallmark of bureaucratic corporate rationality," spawned Fordist production techniques—"less as a mere system of mass production and more as a total way of life," "mass production meant standardization of product as well as mass consumption; and that meant a whole new aesthetic and a commodification of culture" (Harvey, 1989, pp. 123–135). This is the process of modernization that adult education became deeply embroiled in, struggling to meet the demands of the workplace, the academy, and the learners of this brave new world.

To meet the demands of modernity, mainstream adult educators struggled to constitute their discipline as a science—all "other" discourses having been delegitimated and relegated to the margins. This involved excluding "whole areas of knowledge through a series of demarcations whilst ... seeking to secure knowledge through methodological rules" (Frisby, 1976, p. xii). In this manner, dissent was "discredited and delegitimized even before it was spoken—by the very absoluteness of the dominant syndrome, the universalism of its proclaimed ambitions and the completeness of its domination" (Bauman, 1992, p. xiv). Only practices amenable to scientific study were awarded the title of "adult education," all "others," practices that were not quantifiable, objective, or universalizable, were deemed illegitimate and banished to the margins of the field. All modes of inquiry and forms of knowledge "other" than those of science were likewise dismissed in the establishment's drive to construct a body of knowledge distinctive to the field. All instructional methods and communicative processes "other" than those that maximized the effectiveness and efficiency of the adult learning process were likewise dismissed in the establishment's quest for control.

Newly construed and defined as a "positive" practice, adult education was able to accommodate the systematizing impulses of the workplace, the scientific demands of the academy, and the utopian desires of the adult learner much more effectively. Education's role in the modernization process was a far from insignificant one, as David Harvey (1989) notes:

> The socialization of the worker to conditions of capitalist production entails the social control of physical and mental powers on a very broad basis. Education, training, persuasion, the mobilization of certain social sentiments (the work ethic, company loyalty, national or local pride) and psychological propensities (the search for identity through work, individual initiative, or social solidarity) all play a role and are plainly mixed in with the formation of dominant ideologies cultivated by the mass media, religious and educational institutions, the various arms of the state apparatus, and asserted by simple articulation of their experience on the part of those who do the work. (p. 124)

By constructing its discourse to accommodate the dominant forces of the day and by delineating its borders to exclude all other "competing discursive fields vying for control of the field" (Welton, p. 26), the adult education establishment secured control of its emergent "discipline." The challenge then became one of consolidating and maintaining that hegemony.

Maintaining Hegemony

The productive, institutional, and social forces of modernity continued to exert their influence during and after the advent of World War II. While workers had opposed the imposition of Fordist production technologies prior to the war, it was difficult for them to resist the efficiencies of rationalized production processes in times of an all-out war effort; consequently, by the end of the Second World War, centralized and sytematized Fordist production techniques were firmly entrenched in North America. Mainstream adult education, that is, adult education construed rationalistically and systematically, continued to play an important role in preparing workers for the rationalized workplace.

Having addressed the needs of the productive realm, the adult education establishment focused on further consolidating its position by shaping its discourse to meet the requirements of the academic and social realms. To meet the needs of the academic realm, the establishment delineated a complete register of concepts, constructed an exclusive range of practices, and amassed a body of the empirical-analytic knowledge, facilitating the development of a more exacting object of study. To meet the requirements of the social realm, the establishment tailored its concepts and practices to accommodate the ideology of the individual, endorsing psychologistic theories of learning and autonomous learning processes. This prompted the emergence of the modern practice of adult education, a discursive field that drew on the science of behaviorism, argued for the distinctive nature of the adult learner, posited concepts like "self-directed" and "goal-oriented" learning, and promoted "contractual" learning processes and "facilitated" learning practices.

During the post-war period the adult education establishment focused on securing its place within the academy. It began to publish journals, establish graduate programs, hold conferences, form associations, and set curricula. By monopolizing the organs of public discourse, the establishment further hardened its discursive boundaries against critical incursion. When "other" discursive fields emerged to challenge the orthodoxy, they were quickly assimilated, exorcised, and amalgamated into the establishment's burgeoning scientific discourse. This modern corporatist strategy allowed the establishment to appropriate critical discourses such as those of Freire and Habermas, albeit in an emasculated and depoliticized form.[3] The establishment's discursive hegemony remained without serious challenge until the emergence of postmodernity.

Hegemony Under Siege

By constructing a discursive field that accommodated Fordist production technologies and autonomous learning strategies within a scientific and technological framework, the adult education establishment was able to monopolize adult education practice. The advent of postmodernity, however, has prompted dramatic changes in the productive and cultural realms, robbing the establishment of the legitimacy it once derived from its close articulation with modern productive and cultural practices.

The strategies that adult education had so carefully developed to prepare workers for Fordist production techniques are simply unsuited to the postFordist workplace. Instead of concentrating production in large factories that produce vast quantities of standardized industrial products for mass markets, postFordist manufacturers employ "just-in-time" production techniques that rely on computers, telecommunications, and modern transportation systems to exploit nuanced market niches and to react quickly to changes in demand (Harvey, 1989). The advent of postmodernity has prompted a shift from organized to disorganized forms of capitalism, from national to transnational economic organizations, from industrial economies to service economies, from resource driven production to demand driven production, from mass consumption to individualized consumption, and much, much more.[4] The magnitude of these changes is so great that no single discourse can ever hope to meet the proliferate, rapidly evolving demands of the postmodern workplace. In a postmodern era characterized by decentralized production, industrial downsizing, plant relocations, high unemployment, and fragmented workforces, the modernist adult education discourse no longer prepares workers for the production realm.

The rampant commodification of culture is also making it difficult for the adult education establishment to retain its hold over the discursive formation of adult education. To an unprecedented degree, cultural artifacts, such as, works of art, knowledge, health and fitness, romance, and travel are being bought and sold in the marketplace. The production of culture has become so lucrative that some of the world's largest corporations have adopted it as their main preoccupation. Transnational corporations now generate significant profits through their control of such cultural institutions as television networks, newspaper chains, film studios, and publishing houses.[5] The commodification of culture is now such that many musicians, entertainers, and athletes have developed corporate identities that rival or surpass their cultural ones.[6]

---

[3] For a discussion of North America's reception of Freire see, Kidd and Kumar (1981) and Plumb (1989). For an analysis of its reception of Habermas see Collard and Law (1989), Hart (1990) and Plumb (1989).

[4] See Harvey (1989) for an extensive account of this transformation.

Cultural commodification, however, is not restricted to the realms of art and entertainment, even the once hallowed space of education and the sacrosanct sphere of knowledge is being commodified. Once a stock of interpretations, narratives, and explanations carried within cultural traditions that were passed down through a process of socialization and enculturation, knowledge is rapidly being transformed into a commodity that can be quickly produced and rapidly exchanged on the open market. While adult education in modernity performed an ideological function, preparing workers for their role in the market economy, in postmodernity adult education is assimilated into the emerging service economy, becoming part of the productive realm. Jhally (1989) describes this phenomenon as the *real* subsumption of culture. "Real subsumption," he argues, "refers to a situation where the media [and other cultural institutions] become not ideological institutions but economic ones. That is, investment in the media [and other cultural institutions] is not for the purpose of ideological control but for the purpose of reaping the biggest return. Culture is produced first and foremost as a commodity rather than as ideology" (p. 73). Educationalpreneurs, along with other cultural capitalists, are finding that large profits can be secured by marketing commodities that have immediate appeal and which can be rapidly consumed. Short cycle courses, self-directed learning packages, distance education, and competency-based education all serve to reduce the turnover time of production and consumption and maximize profits. This commodification of adult education threatens the hegemony of the establishment because it spawns discursive fields that legitimate themselves not in terms of the orthodoxy but in terms of the market.

Post-hegemonic possibilities

The modern practice of adult education, the discursive field so carefully constructed to articulate with modernity's production and cultural realms, is now under serious threat. Moreover, given the rapidly changing conditions of postmodernity and the overwhelming delegitimation of totalizing discourses, it is highly unlikely that any alliance of educators or administrators will ever be able to reconstitute adult education as a unified discursive formation.[7] The danger, some argue, is that adult education will "degenerate" into its preprofessional state, into an amorphous set of time and locale specific practices. This somewhat pessimistic scenario is not adult education's only post-hegemonic possibility, however. By deconstructing the old maps, postmodernity has presented adult educators with the opportunity to reconceptualize the terrain of adult education, to bring adult education's various discursive fields not a new relationship with one another, to conceive of adult education as a set of inclusionary, rather than exclusionary practices.

---

[5] For an interesting account of corporate ownership of television networks, see Douglas Kellner's, *Television and the Crisis of Democracy* (1990). Sut Jhally provides an interesting account of the involvement of corporations in daily newspapers and the film industry in *The Political Economy of Culture* (1989). Michael Apple discusses the involvement of major corporations in the publishing industry in *Teachers and Texts* (1986).

[6] Consider, for instance, the multi-million dollar contracts of rock stars like Madonna, TV personalities like Bill Cosby, or athletes like Herbie Puckett.

[7] This is a fear expressed by Carlson (1992).

In describing what we would argue is the post-hegemonic practice of cultural studies, Stuart Hall (1992) identifies many issues that must be addressed by post-hegemonic adult educators. We have taken the liberty of substituting *post-hegemonic adult education* for the term *cultural studies* in the extract from Hall's essay below:

> Now, does it follow that *post-hegemonic adult education* is not a policed disciplinary area? That it is whatever people do, if they choose to call or locate themselves within the project and practice of *post-hegemonic adult education* ? I am not happy with that formulation either. Although adult education as a project is open-ended, it can't be simply pluralist in that way. Yes, it refuses to be a master discourse or a meta-discourse of any kind. Yes, it is a project that is always open to that which it doesn't yet know, to that which it can't yet name. But it does have some will to connect; it does have some stake in the choices it makes. It does matter whether *post-hegemonic adult education* is this or that. It can't be just any old thing which chooses to march under a particular banner. It is a serious enterprise, or project, and that is inscribed in what is sometimes called the "political" aspect of adult education. Not that there's one politics already inscribed in it. But there is something *at stake* in adult education, in a way that I think, and hope, is not exactly true of many other very important intellectual and critical practices. Here one registers the tension between a refusal to close the field, to police it and, at the same time, a determination to stake out some positions within it and argue for them. That is the tension—the dialogic approach to theory… [we are arguing for]. I don't believe knowledge is closed, but I do believe that politics is impossible without what I have called "the arbitrary closure"; without what Homi Bhabha called social agency as an arbitrary closure. That is to say, I don't understand a practice which aims to make a difference in the world, which doesn't have some points of difference or distinction which it has to stake out, which really matter. It is a question of positionalities. Now, it is true that those positionalities are never final, they're never absolute. They can't be translated intact from one conjuncture to another; they cannot be depended on to remain in the same place. (p. 278)

The challenge, of course, is "to bring closure," to arbitrarily "define" adult education as a discursive field, in such a way that adult education can fulfill its potential "to make a difference" without eradicating differences and oppressing oppositional discursive fields—"that which it can't yet name." Laclau and Mouffe (1985) propose a promising solution to this problem, offering a theory of "radical democracy" that makes use of Lacan's notion of "suturing" to bring about arbitrary but always provisional closure. Zizek (1992) notes that

> their term "radical democracy" is… to be taken somehow paradoxically: it is precisely *not* "radical" in the sense of pure, true democracy; its radical character implies, on the contrary, that we can save democracy only by *taking into account its own radical impossibility*. Here we see how we have reached the opposite extreme of the traditional Marxist [and other totalizing perspectives'] standpoint: in traditional Marxism, the global solution-revolution is the condition of the effective solution of all particular problems, while here every provisional, temporarily successful solution of a particular problem entails an acknowledgement of the global radical deadlock, impossibility, the acknowledgement of a fundamental antagonism. (p. 6)

With Giroux (1992), we contend that the challenge to post-hegemonic adult educators is one of "drawing upon new paradigms in order to rewrite the meaning of pedagogy, education, and their implications for a new politics of cultural difference, radical democracy, and a new generation of cultural workers" (p. 5).

References

Apple, Michael (1986). *Teachers and texts: A political economy of class and gender relations in education.* New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bauman, Z. (1992). *Intimations of postmodernity.* London: Routledge.

Carlson, R. A. (1992). At the 1992 adult education research conference. *AEDNET*, August 12, 1992.

Collard, S., & Law, M. (1989). The limits of perspective transformation: A critique of Mezirow's theory. *Adult Education Quarterly, 39*, 2, 99–107.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge* (A. M. Sheridan Smith, Trans.). London: Tavistock.

Frisby, D. (1976). Introduction. In T. Adorno et al. *The positivist dispute in German sociology* (Adey, G., & Frisby, D. Trans.). London: Heinemann.

Giroux, H. (1992). Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education. New York: Routledge.

Hart, M. (1990). Critical theory and beyond: Perspectives on emancipatory education. *Adult Education Quarterly, 40* (3).

Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Jhally, Sut (1989). The political economy of culture. In Ian Angus and Sut Jhally (Eds.), *Cultural politics in contemporary America.* New York: Routledge.

Kellner, Douglas (1990). *Television and the crisis of democracy.* Boulder, Col.: Westview Press.

Kidd, R., & Kumar, K. (1981). Co-opting Freire: A critical analysis of pseudo-Freirian adult education. *Economic and Political Weekly, 16* (1), 27–36.

LaClau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy.* London: Verso.

Plumb, D. T. (1989). *The significance of Jürgen Habermas for the pedagogy of Paulo Freire and the practice of adult education.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan.

Welton, M. R. (1991). Dangerous knowledge: Canadian workers' education in the decades of discord. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 23* (1), 25–40.

Wilson, A. L. (1992). Science and the professionalization of American adult education, 1934–1989: A study of knowledge development in the adult education handbooks. In the *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Adult Education Research Conference* (pp. 260–267). Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan.

Wilson, A. L. (1991). *Epistemological foundations of American adult education, 1934 to 1989: A study of knowledge and interests.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, Athens.

Zizek, S. (1992). *The sublime object of ideology.* London: Verso.

WORK, WORKERS, AND WORKER EDUCATION: KEY ISSUES FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

Georgia Brown, Jane Dawson, Andrea Kastner, Tom Nesbit
University of British Columbia

Abstract

Much discussion on worker education hides alternative perspectives and ignores the workers' voices. This symposium raises questions for all adult educators concerned with worker education in today's economic and social climate.

Plusiers discussions sûr l'éducation des travailleurs cachent les perspectives progressives ne tenent aucun compte de la diversité des voix des travailleurs. Ce symposium fait ressortir les questions pour tous les enseignants des adultes qui veux évoluer le sujet d'éducation du travail.

Worker education is currently a topic of great interest to adult educators because of perceived changes in the economy, the nature of work, and the workplace. However, there are different perspectives on key issues in worker education: who ought to be included as potential participants, appropriate sites, its content, and its functions. In the following sections we consider these different perspectives, and highlight the tensions associated with hearing the variety and diversity of workers' many voices.

Whose Curriculum? - Andrea Kastner

What would a worker say if asked what they need to learn in their workplace? I have recreated here a composite response based on workers' stories collected in my research on non-formal workers' education.

About a year ago somebody decided that the clerical staff here should get some training on how to prevent the kind of injuries we get like carpal tunnel syndrome. Management contracted with a private company to give us a one-day workshop at the college. From the way the woman from the company dressed and all the degrees she had, we wondered if she'd ever done word processing as a full time job, and if she had any idea what our jobs are really like. She explained the different types of injuries we can get, and gave tips on how we should sit, little exercises we could do to stretch, stressed how important it is to take your breaks, and so on. She spent quite a bit of time talking about angles--from your eyes to your monitor and from your elbow to the keyboard, and so on. I kept thinking that we should all be at the office showing her our real desks and chairs, and have her actually show us how we should set things up. It wasn't till later that some of us remembered the trouble Jean got in a couple of months ago when the supervisor saw her trying to put her monitor higher up onto this box she found: he told her to quit wasting time. Anyway, I remember feeling kind of frustrated about that workshop - she covered some useful stuff that no one had ever told us before–but somehow it didn't sit right with me. Back at work we tried different makeshift things like cushions on our chair-backs but they kept slipping off. After a while we were just too busy. Finally we asked for better chairs at least, but we haven't heard anything back yet.

But then last month a few of us went to a two-day conference held at a union hall. It was sponsored by a women's organization that does research about women workers' health and is available for information and advice. One workshop was run by a doctor who specializes in work injuries and she showed with a big coloured chart exactly how the wrist works and how repetitive work like ours affects the blood circulation and tendons. She explained why it is so important to have the right posture and take breaks and exercise. That made all the difference to me–knowing why. She gave us information on how to make sure we are properly diagnosed by our doctor if we think we have an injury. In another workshop two women told us about the roadblocks they ran into, and the strategies they used in getting union and management support for an education program they designed on this topic. Now it's so popular, they get invited all over the country to show other people how to set up similar programs. On the last day, there were different workshops on strategies to use in our own workplaces, in collective bargaining to get better working conditions, and to change legislation.

What I liked best about this conference was the message that it isn't just up to me to prevent myself from getting injured. There are some things we don't have any control over like whether we are given proper workstations that fit us and the work we really do, and whether we can get training so we can rotate our jobs and not have to sit at a keyboard all day every day. The other thing I liked is that I got to talk to women doing completely different work. In one group I talked to a Japanese lady who works at a fish processing plant. She was saying she thinks their real problem has to do with the global economic system and the Free Trade Agreement. There is more pressure on them now to produce more so they have to work faster and faster to keep up with the speed of the fish coming on the conveyor belt. They're afraid to complain in case the company moves south and they'll have no job at all. What she said got me thinking. Now I read articles in the business section of the paper like the one about Canadian governments and companies contracting out clerical work to Ireland and Jamaica. Its a strange position to be in, seeing on one hand how women far away could be threatening my job, but on the other hand wondering if their working conditions are even worse than ours.

It was learning a whole new way of looking at our situation that made me see why I had felt there was something wrong with that workshop last year: there was a lot left out. And she made it sound like if we got injured, it was our own fault for not doing something the right way. Maybe she didn't mean to give us that message, but that's what we got. So if you're asking what I think we need to know, maybe from what I've been saying you get some idea. When we went back to work the Monday after that conference, though, we might have looked on the outside like the same women who left Friday, but I'll tell you, inside we were changed people, and we're going to make some changes.

A Union Interest - Tom Nesbit

Unions naturally take an interest in workers' education; at one time they provided the only educational opportunities available to working people. During the early part of the twentieth century, the programs on offer consisted not only of training in the skills required to be an effective union representative, but also courses of general liberal education for workers. General education programs covered not only a wide range of literacy and vocational skills but also education deliberately designed for those with an ideological commitment to political and social change. Courses provided a critical examination of the social and economic dimensions of everyday life, attempted to build a more comprehensive critique of society, and provided activities designed to foster social change.

After the first world war, two trends shaped workers' education in North America. First, largely as a result of union pressure, education became more readily available to all adults, regardless of social class, and the general educational level of workers improved. Second, the development of university-based education centres and programs ensured that workers' education became more institutionalized and professionalized. These trends led to the abandonment of the social change aspects of workers' education, and a concentration on programs and courses that provided the instrumental and functional knowledge and skills needed to effectively run the developing union bureaucracies. Current union-run education courses generally continue this trend, and tend to be either "subject-based" or "tool-based." Subject-based courses offer (usually in conjunction with employers) vocational training or education designed specifically to help improve promotion prospects or job mobility for individual members. Tool-based courses provide training for shop-stewards and business agents that focus on, for example, grievance-handling, labour law, or contract administration.

While these courses are necessary to provide some measure of protection for workers in the current economic climate, they also tend to provide ideological support for existing workplace power relationships and industrial pluralism. Union-run workers education courses tend to place workers education in a more individualistic, job-related mode than in a context of collective worker empowerment or action. A typical example is that of workplace literacy. Although many unions cooperate in joint workplace literacy programs with educational and business institutions, in general unions allow the business community to determine the terms and content of workers' education programs. Consequently, workplace literacy programs are predominantly oriented towards workers as individuals, and generally use a standardized and decontextualized curriculum.

Building workers' education programs around business and industry needs or job prospects does little to promote union values, challenge the individualism that is so prominent in North American society, or tackle the race, class, and gender oppression and exploitation in workplaces. As the economic climate within North America worsens, the strength of unions to defend (let alone advance) the rights of working people continues to diminish. Unions seriously need to consider the continuing decline in their membership levels and political power, and the esteem in which they are generally regarded. An active commitment to workers' education can help rekindle the spirit of unionism and promote class consciousness among workers. For unions to regain their role as the rightful articulators of workers' fears, needs, and dreams, they need to once again begin to invest both financially and ideologically in workers' education.

The Voice of a Worker - an Adult Educator - Georgia Brown

As an adult educator and instructor with a CEIC funded job club program (a job-search employment program), I find myself caught in an argument between several voices: my own voice as a worker and an adult educator, and the voice of the clients or workers with whom I work.

As a worker and adult educator I have been hired to assist adults to find work. To begin with, I am caught between the expectations of my employers and the clients in choosing who will be successful participants for the monthly three week program. As the only funding source, CEIC stipulates that being in the correct geographical area is one of the important screening criteria. The company that operates the program stipulates that along with this, the clients must be 'job ready', that is seriously looking for work with a clear job goal and preferably related work experience. Then there are the clients. Many times they do not meet all of the criteria but they are eager to come into any program that will try to assist them find 'relevant work in the shortest possible time' - a job club slogan. The results of this kind of screening for a generic program on job search skills is a group of about fifteen adults, from nineteen to fifty-five years old, from a variety of occupational backgrounds as diverse as waiter to research lawyer, from different cultures and all at different stages of the job search process.

The program on job search skills is a prescriptive one that has been developed from research on what processes are involved in a successful job search. The curriculum stresses a group approach to looking for work and focuses on giving information: facts about developing an inventory list about one's marketable skills, facts about the hidden job market and how to tap this network through contacting people, developing tools for conversation about one's job search - the calling card, writing a resume and so on. As a worker I am caught between my own voice that says "just get the job done, help these people find work" and my voice as an educator that critiques the program content. Surely gaining relevant work is more than doing all of the 'right' things. Although from the client's point of view it makes sense to 'buy into' the perspective that all they need is to do something differently, as an educator I want to do more than merely impart information. Although finding the right thing to do, applying one more piece of information or changing the way one looks for work is a lot easier than it is to change the system that perpetuates certain kinds of work, I want to educate the client not only about how to find work but about what is changing in the economic system and about what needs to be changed in the quality of work that I am assisting these people to find. Frithjof Bergmann, a philosophy professor who devotes his time to the work crisis in America, notes that technology will displace the service industry as it displaced the land worker to the factory. The nature of that replacement may be turning workers into 'high-tech self providers'. Instead of one full time work position there life will be balanced between a variety of efficient money-making ventures, 'chore systems', education, family care and other individual projects. What is required is to educate job club clients about the nature of the changes they can expect.

The function of the education I receive as an educator and graduate student in an adult education program is very different from the education I give as a worker and educator in job club. The education I receive is largely theoretical. It assists me to critique, to question the 'status quo', to develop my own ideas and to become familiar with the ideas and theories of others. But the function of the education I provide as an adult educator, a job club instructor, is to assist the clients to 'fit into' the current demand structure of the economy and not to question it or try to influence it in any way. It is to accept the 'job-slot' picture of the economy as the way it is and the way it's going to stay.

The functional nature of the program is reflected in the program site. Job club is usually situated in a business office that contains room for a classroom, an area with several telephones, several instructor offices, and an office-computer area for the receptionist-secretary. It reflects the business of what education is all about?

Skills and Training: The View from the Job Site - Jane Dawson

> "'Education was pushed at me as a way of being successful,' Jim says....[But now he] seems to have drawn a distinction between education and schools, the sort that some...people draw between religion and churches."

Jim is a carpenter. His words come from a book by Tracy Kidder (1985, p. 25) about a housebuilding project where Jim worked. The book is mostly about work--the work of carpenters--but the subject of learning and education comes up often. All four carpenters involved in the project had run afoul of the education system in one way or another. Jim, for instance, struggled with and finally turned away from the college-and-white-collar job notion of success, while Richard was sent to trade school with other "kids they couldn't do anything else with" (p. 90). Also, for all four carpenters, learning on the job, learning by watching and doing, was an essential element of becoming proficient at their trade. In Richard's words, "we'll get good about the time we get in our seventies. It takes a long time to get really good at something. You can't do it in just ten years..." (p. 30).

These carpenters express what might be considered a healthy skepticism about what the education system has done and could do for them, as well as an equally healthy appreciation for the time and diligence it takes to really learn something well. Their views are particular, but they are not extraordinary, and would probably be familiar to many other tradespeople.

The reason their views matter, in the context of an adult education conference far away from any building site, is the increasing interest among educational "experts" in the link between education and jobs--trades jobs among them. Often, at least at the policy level, this interest is expressed in terms of the problem of "skill shortages" and the need for "skill upgrading" and the "expansion of trades and technical training...to provide the skilled workforce the economy demands"(B.C. Human Resource Development Project (BCHRDP), 1992).

This way of looking at things doesn't go very far, with people like Jim and Richard in mind. It talks about more training with little apparent concern for what kind of training. It talks about the provision of training with little apparent recognition that for many people training is hooked in with school, and school hasn't done much for them. It talks about "skill" as a disembodied entity: something that is prone to shortages like money in the bank, or something that requires upgrading like an old model computer, but not something that can only belong to human agents whose life and work are shaped by particular experiences, roles, and cultural conditions. The BCHRDP way of looking at the link between education and work draws no distinction between skill and training--the kind of distinction that Jim, the carpenter, draws between real education and schooling, between religion and churches. The kind of distinction, in fact, that is essential for getting any perspective on the world of human action. Without it, the link between education and the workplace looks like it is only about skills and jobs. Actually, it is about values, beliefs, definitions and possibilities of "success" and how they impact on skills and jobs.

References

B.C. Human Resource Development Project (1992). Report of the Steering Committee. Victoria: Author.

Kidder, T. (1985). House. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Some Questions

1. Whose voices are currently heard in discussions about worker education?

2. Who needs to be heard?

3. What difference would it make to our practice and research if we considered different voices?

Labour Market Training: New Partnerships and the Struggle for Hegemony

Shauna Butterwick, Marcy Cohen, Leif Hommen, Kjell Rubenson
University of British Columbia, University of Toronto

Canada's Labour Force Development Strategy has instituted corporatist mechanisms for the governance of industrial training. The limited role of federal authorities and the incorporation of interest groups other than business and labour represent significant departures from conventional tripartite models. This symposium examines the emerging institutional framework from a comparative and historical perspective.

La stratégie canadienne de mise en valeur de la main d'oeuvre a fondé des mécanismes corporatistes pour le gouvernement de la formation industrielle. Le role limité des autorités federals et l'incorporation des groupements autre que le commerce et le mouvement syndical representent les déviations considérables des modèles tripartites conventionnelles. Ce colloque examine la structure institutionelle emergée d'une perspective comparative et historique.

Swedish Experiences in a Canadian Context

The creation of the Canadian Labour Force Development Board (LFDB) arose from a consensus between government and the social partners that a global information economy combined with shifts in demographic patterns were threatening the economic base of Canada. The common themes in the various policy papers leading up to the LFDP were human resource development (expressed in terms of lifelong learningand a learning and training culture), "active" labour market policies and new forms of cooperation between government, the social partners and, increasingly, other stakeholders. In developing the Canadian Labour Force Development Strategy frequent reference has been made to European experiences, particularly the Swedish, of active labour market policies and cooperative involvement of the social partners. The purpose of this paper is to look at the Swedish labour market policies in the context of the present struggle in Canada for representation on the national and provincial LFDB's.

The comprehensive nature of the active labour market policies and the specific role of the social partners in the Swedish model should be seen in the historical context of the political economy of a social democratic welfare regime, the early historical development of corporatism as well as the unique integration of interest groups and social movements.

The active labour market policy, the jewel in the Swedish Welfare Model, is characterized above all by its own assertion that such a policy is a principal factor of economic stability and full employment. The goal is to achieve full employment while minimizing consumer price inflation and wage drift. The specific measures include public employment projects (known as "relief work projects"), sheltered employment, support for firms in regions of high unemployment, and efforts to stimulate the mobility of workers between different localities, sectors and occupations. The labour market training system arose out of the need to act swiftly against imbalances in the labour market. First, the system helps underemployed and unemployed workers to improve their employability in occupations with better opportunities. Second, it increases the supply of skilled workers in industries where a shortage of suitably trained personnel tends to exacerbate inflationary pressures. One of the most salient characteristics of the social democratic regime is its fusion of welfare and work. The enormous costs of maintaining a universal and de-comodifying welfare system based on solidarity is best done with full employment and high labour force participation (Esping-Andersen, 1989). The corporatist structure of the National Labor Market Board (*Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, AMS*) was seen as an essential element for the fulfillment of the active labour market policy by the originators as well as a united Riksdag (Rothstein, 1992). The justification given for the decentralization of power to the AMS and for the representation of the social partners was that the Board needed to be able to act swiftly and that the involvement of social partners in decision making would create confidence in the Board and legitimate its actions. In reality it was the Federation of Labour (LO) that came to dominate the Board, and what has been called corporatism was actually a functional aspect of social democratic hegemony.

However, as Rothstein points out it should be noted that the corporatist tradition was in existence before the social democratic reign. In fact the principle of corporatist representation was established before the principle of democratic representation was accepted. This is indicated by the social passions of some liberal politicians, the relative openness and popular character of the state and the nature of the Swedish bureaucracy (op. cit.). Thus the corporatist structure as it later came to evolve within the Swedish Model has some roots in an indigenous tradition.

The disputes about representation on the LFDB's relate to the classic question of the influence of interest organizations and the nature of democracy. Independent free organizations can on the one hand counteract hierarchical dominance but on the other hand they can also be an instrument for maintaining and strengthening existing inequalities and favouring special interests. Issues that are not supported by powerful organizations/interests do not make it to the agenda. Further representative democracy can be threatened by the extent of the delegation of power to organizations/interests.

The circumstances that in other countries resulted in group egoism and blocking of ideas seem, thanks to large comprehensive organizations that have accepted a common social responsibility, to have been avoided in Sweden (SOU 1990:44). Instead of primarily promoting their own interests, they have managed to concern themselves with the common good. The Parliamentary Commission on Power stressed that the Swedish Model assumes that strong organizations can make the difficult economic decisions necessary for a balanced economy (op. cit.). The common good was further promoted by the fact that the labour movement did not only act in its capacity of an interest group but also from its historical roots as a social movement promoting civil society and providing universal benefits tailored to the tastes and expectations of the middle classes (cf. Esping-Andersen, 1989). This can, according to Korpi's power mobilization theory, be explained by a shift in the balance of power between social collectives and classes that came to influence both the distribution of opportunities between different classes in society and the social consciousness of the people. Similarly, changes in power were reflected in changes in social institutions and their *modus operandi*..

Despite the obvious success of the Swedish Model to create a relatively more equitable world, it is not without problems. The model of a few strong organizations brought about a merger of smaller units, centralization and bureaucratization with the result that members often felt they had no or little influence over the organizations. It is also very evident that while solidarity wage policies and active labour market policies like the general social policies have benefited women in many ways, women are less well represented within the corporatist than the political power structures (op. cit.). The Swedish Model, as it has come to be known, stands at a crossroads. New trends towards decentralization, local bargaining, and a breakdown of a heterogeneous labour movement into smaller groups with specific interests are threatening the capacity to act for the general good. In fact one could argue that the Swedish Model is drifting in the direction of the Canadian model. Finally, The Swedish Association of Business has declared that it no longer wants to be represented on decision making boards which will jeopardize the corporatist tradition.

History and Origins of the Canadian Labour Force Development Board

This paper traces the political struggles and negotiations within and among the constituencies of labour, business and government that began in the mid-1970s and that eventually led to the creation of a quite unique social form in the Canadian context -- the Canadian Labour Force Development Board (CLFDB). At one level this new Board can be described as a deliberate and conscious strategy on the part of key actors within each of the constituencies to transform the traditional adversarial pattern of relationships between labour and business by incorporating key political actors in one structure and imposing a process of consensus decision-making upon them. In this respect, the CLFDB mirrors similar corporatist structures that have existed in Europe for some time. And yet, the current structure is quite distinct from traditional forms of corporatism in that it originates in a very different time and space, and assumes neither an expansionary federal state nor the existence of society-wide negotiations on anything but training. What is also significant and unique about the Canadian structure is the inclusion of the so-called equity groups -- women, visible minority people, people with disabilities, and aboriginal people -- within the decision-making apparatus, albeit in a minority position.

By identifying the different points of origin for a national labour market board, it is possible to begin to construct a picture of how and why it is that the organization of the CLFDB has taken the particular form that it has in terms of its structure of representation, its mandate for action, and its links to the federal and provincial governments. Historically, there were two periods of particularly intense negotiations -- one in the late seventies and one in the late eighties -- that eventually led to the establishment of the Board in the spring of 1991. These negotiations were significant in that they provided an opening for key leaders from labour and business to consider how they might modify and redefine their relationships to one another and to the state in response to specific changes that were occurring in the economy. In each case, these negotiations followed directly after a major shift in economic policy direction that was initiated as a political response by the federal government of the day to the increasing pressures of global competition and the growing crisis in the domestic economy. In 1975, in response to spiralling inflation and a stagnating economy, the federal government imposed compulsory wage and price control over the objections of both business and labour. The flurry of behind-the-scenes negotiations that followed the imposition of controls marked the very first tentative steps towards the development of some more "consultative" mechanisms for decision-making on labour market programming. The second round of negotiations began in the spring of 1989, in the aftermath of the signing of the Free Trade Agreement with the United States.

The initial impetus for these negotiations came from very different sources. In the earlier period, from the mid to late 1970s, the interest in creating a non-governmental labour market mechanism clearly originated with labour and business, most particularly labour. As an alternative to wage and price controls, some of the key leaders in the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) proposed a strategy for co-managing the economy that was modelled after similar corporatist initiatives in Europe. In its most moderate guise, aspects of this model formed the basis of negotiations between the CLC and the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI). The outcome of these negotiations was a proposal for a Labour Market Institute jointly run by labour/business. This proposal laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre (CLMPC) in 1984. In the second phase of negotiations, it was not labour and business, but rather senior officials in the Department of Employment and Immigration who were driving the process and promoting the idea of a "private sector" labour market Board. Their support for a more "consultative" approach to decision-making reflected difficulties with past government attempts to reform unemployment insurance and labour market training, and hence an interest in finding new ways of "organizing consent" and of "managing the labour market". The Labour Force Development consultation strategy, designed by the government and organized by the CLMPC, was an attempt to merge the different interests represented by these two processes through the creation of a new multipartite structure for decision-making. There was an assumption that this new structure would make it possible to both build on the form of corporatism that had been evolving within the CLMPC and, at the same time, provide a more formalized mechanism of consultation between one particular government department (i.e., the present Department of Employment and Immigration) and key constituents within the labour market. The fact that this merging of agendas was fraught with contradictions and uncertainties is evident in the Phase II Report on the Labour Force Development Strategy that outlined the structure and mandate for the CLFDB. Although the report talks about the Board as an "independent" body with an evolving role from "giving advice to making firm recommendations" including a possible future "role with respect to the UI fund", the actual authority and resources granted to the Board were quite limited, and its independence from the Department of Employment and Immigration uncertain.

Promises and Paradoxes: Women's Struggle for Representation in the Corporatist Context

In this part of the symposium, I want to take up the opportunity to reflect critically on my experiences of working with a federal feminist coalition and a provincial women's collective, both struggling to have a voice in new labour force development decision-making structures. As a result of working in this context, several key struggles or contradictions have become evident to me. The restructuring of labour force development policy-making has brought new opportunities to bring a feminist perspective to policy-making discussions which challenge bureaucratic practices and argue for alternative, more democratic decision-making processes. There are also significant barriers, given the fiscal crisis of the state, which makes it difficult to acquire the necessary resources to support a democratic and inclusive process. We face another difficulty given the liberal tradition of Canada's welfare state politics and the problems of representing women's interests in such a way that it is inclusive of the differences of class, race, sexuality, age, ability, and culture among women.

As someone situated in the struggle, I have been exploring postmodern feminist discussions in order to make sense of the current political context and to identify strategies for acting effectively. Nancy Fraser's (1989) analysis of Western welfare state policies and practices helps to illuminate the political struggle over needs interpretation that is central to current discussions about spending and social programs. She sees the work of social movements such as feminism as engaging in a struggle for cultural hegemony -- that is, "for the power to construct authoritative definitions of social situations and legitimate interpretations of women's needs" (p. 6). Using Fraser's conceptualizations, the feminist engagement with the new labour market decision-making structures can be seen as involving three main struggles: politicizing women's needs; articulating a feminist interpretation of these needs and their satisfactions; and arguing for changes in decision-making so that women are empowered to define and interpret their own needs.

Much of Fraser's work has pointed to the difficulties feminists face in the current "welfare wars" and to the need for political, discourse-oriented inquiries. Analysis of the current discourse of the new training boards reveals that the equality-seeking groups bring a social movement perspective to the discussion. These groups face major barriers, given the tradition of welfare state liberalism in Canada, in which policy-making is viewed as the province of experts and social justice is a matter of the distribution of benefits. Building on Fraser's theorizing, my understanding is that the difficulties facing women and the other equity groups who are now members of the new training boards has been greatly enhanced by the theorizing of Iris Marion Young (1990). Young challenges contemporary theories of justice which, she argues, depoliticize public life and are based on the ideal of impartiality and the denial of difference.

Young believes that social justice should be grounded in a positive sense of group difference and a politics that attends to, rather than represses, difference. The politics of difference, as outlined by

Young, requires that group differences must be acknowledged and included in policy and practices. She further argues that political decision-making should encourage the autonomous organization of groups, that procedures should be established so that groups have a voice, and that public institutions should be organized around group representation. The politics of difference also requires that difference be understood, not from a sense of opposition, but from a sense of the relational nature of group differences. "Difference now comes to mean not otherness, (nor) exclusive opposition, but specificity, variation, heterogeneity. A relational understanding of group difference ... no longer implies that groups lie outside one another. The assumption that real differences in affinity, culture, or privilege imply oppositional categorization must be challenged" (p. 171).

Both Fraser and Young have provided a framework for understanding the opportunities and strategies required to work effectively within the current context of the restructuring of labour force decision-making.

B.C.'s New Approach to Training Policy: Lessons from Britain

In the extensive literature on corporatism, the clearest precedent for British Columbia's plan for a provincial Training and Adjustment Board (BCTAB) is the British government's unsuccessful experiment with the institution of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) created by the 1973 Employment and Training Act (Department of Employment 1973). The case of the MSC has been analyzed as an instructive example of the structural contradictions involved in a "tripartist" approach to promoting "corporatist" solutions in the area of training policy (Rainbird and Grant 1984, Vickerstaff 1985). Tripartist arrangements differ from corporatist mechanisms for policy-making in that they "impose no firm responsibilities on the partners to implement any of the policies to which they have agreed; and are not linked, except in the most tenuous way, to discussions at the meso or micro levels" (Grant 1985: 9).

At first glance, there appear to be as many dissimilarities as resemblances between Britain's now deceased MSC and the planned BCTAB. The B.C. plan does not make any explicit provisions for a modified levy/grant system such as that associated with MSC, nor does it envision that the BCTAB, like the MSC, will be responsible for supervising the plans of sectoral training committees. However, a closer inspection reveals that there is much fundamental agreement between the respective policy orientations and operational logics of the two institutions. For example, the B.C. proposal's assumption that "the bulk of basic skills training will be financed from public funds", even in an institutional context that assumes "involvement of all the labour market partners in the development and financing of labour market policy" (B.C. Task Force on Employment and Training 1991: 69) echoes the British commitment of the 1970s to minimizing the training tax levied on firms and expanding direct public expenditures on training in the form of wage subsidies paid to employers. Similarly, the apparent lack of articulation between the BCTAB and presumably independent "sectoral initiatives" headed by self-regulating "accredited training councils of employers" (B.C. Task Force on Employment and Training 1991: 64) clearly recalls the MSC's lack of any effective mechanisms for guaranteeing "a stable supply of skilled workers in key sectors" or "ensuring that the volume of training was in line with longer term trans-sectoral needs" (Vickerstaff 1985: 58). In both cases, there are the common elements of a macro-level focus in employment and training policy, a primary concern with the development of a legitimating consensus for such policy, a commitment to the expansion of direct public expenditures on industrial training, and a strong interest in the development of pragmatic "special programs" that risk amounting to little more than ad hoc "crisis management".

Given the basic continuities between the unsuccessful British experiment and the "way ahead" recommended by the British Columbia Task Force on Employment and Training, there are strong grounds for arguing that a similar failure may be experienced in the B.C. context. In any event, one of the central lessons to be drawn from Britain is the need for corporatist arrangements to provide effective means of coordination and regulation at the industry and firm levels of organization. It remains to be seen whether the agencies responsible for implementing the B.C. initiative in employment and training policy will recognize and attempt to deal effectively with this issue and the practical concerns that it raises.

References:

B.C. Task Force on Employment and Training. 1991. Learning and work -- the way ahead for British Columbians: Report of the B.C. task force on employment and training. Edited by K. Strand. Victoria, B.C.: Government of British Columbia.

Department of Employment. 1973. Employment and training: Government Proposals. London: HMSO.

Esping-Andersen, G. "The threepolitical economies of the welfare state." The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 26:1,10-36.

Fraser, N. 1989. Unruly practices: Power, discourse and gender in contemporary social theory. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Grant, W. 1985. Introduction. In The political economy of corporatism. Edited by W. Grant. 1 - 31. London: MacMillan.

Korpi, W. 1980. The working class in welfare capitalism. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Rainbird, H., and W. Grant. 1984. Employers' associations and training policy. Warwick: University of Warwick Institute for Employment Research.

Rothstein, B. 1992. Den korporativa staten. (the corporatist state) Stockholm: Norstedts.

SOU 1990:44. Demokrati och makt i Sverige (Democracy and power in Sweden) Stockholm: Allmänna förlaget.

Vickerstaff, S. 1985. Industrial training policy in Britain: The dilemmas of a neo-corporatist policy. In Organized interests and the state: Studies in meso-corporatism. Edited by A. Cawson. 45 - 64. London: Sage.

Young, I. M.. 1990. Justice and the politics of difference. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Rural learning: An evaluation of an adult education program in the outports of Newfoundland

Robert J. Carley, Ph.D.
Faculty of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Abstract

This study evaluated, within a formative framework, the Computer Training Awareness for Inshore Fishermen program instituted by the Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union of Newfoundland and Labrador (FFAW). This project was instituted by the FFAW for the provision of adult basic education and literacy for its membership and for community members in selected rural sites in Newfoundland.

Cette article est une evaluation d'une programme pour l'education fondamental des adultes dans les villages rural de Terre Neuve. L'union Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers of Newfoundland and Labrador (FFAW) a commence cette programme, Computer Training Awareness for Inshore Fishermen, pour les membres et pour les villageois.

Introduction

The Computer Training Awareness for Inshore Fishermen program was initiated by the Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union of Newfoundland and Labrador in the fall of 1990. This program was conceived as an educational intervention that would increase the literacy and basic education level of inshore fishermen. Apart from the obvious individual, community, and societal benefits of a program such as this, a stated objective of the program was to prepare inshore fishermen for professionalization, in terms of meeting proposed licensing requirements of the Atlantic Fisheries Adjustment Program. A major concern of many who will be affected by this proposed licensing process is the "threatening reality of not being able to qualify for the various certification levels due to insufficient basic education" (Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union [FFAW], 1990, p.2).

The FFAW, representing 95 percent of the inshore fishermen in Newfoundland, in response to this concern instituted computer training programs for fishermen in "pre-selected communities... identified by both need and population" (FFAW, 1990, p.2). As outlined by the FFAW, the program would consist of the following components:

a. establishment of community advisory boards
b. establishment of computer training centres
c. hiring of individuals to conduct training sessions
d. utilization of outside agencies to conduct training
e. utilization of individualized curricula (PLATO computerized curriculum model)

The four objectives of the program are to: give the members of the FFAW union the opportunity to upgrade; promote and develop an understanding and acceptance of professionalization and certification; develop a greater understanding and acceptance of conservation measures needed in the fisheries; and prepare members for other job opportunities (Duffy, R. 1991).

To achieve these objectives, the FFAW set up two pilot programs in outport fishing communities. These areas are characterized by a population heavily dependent upon fishing; an economic base lacking diversification; and an adult population with less than high school graduation, and many with less than elementary school completion. Adult learning centres were created and equipped with computer work stations, and staffed with two instructors. The goal was to provide the opportunity for the adults of these communities to upgrade their educational level, in preparation for future career transitions.

Background information

Newfoundland and Labrador has the highest official illiteracy rate and the highest unemployment rate in Canada. This has been substantiated by a number of studies (Calamai, 1989; Devereaux, 1985). In terms of illiteracy, the 44 percent illiteracy rate translates into approximately 200,000 people with less than grade 9 education who experience some difficulties with reading, writing, and simple arithmetic. Coupled with this is the fact that Newfoundland consistently has the lowest participation rate of adults in educational activities, with a provincial participation rate of 9 percent compared to a national rate of 19 percent (Canadian Association for Adult Education [CCAE], 1982; Devereaux, 1985). Part of the explanation for this is the finding, in a number of studies, that educational participation is directly related to prior educational achievement. Further, adults with low levels of formal education are consistently under represented in studies of adult education participation, as are adults from the lower socio-economic strata (Devereaux, 1985).

There are certain characteristics of rural adult education that differentiate it from that practised within urban settings. Perhaps the dominant characteristic of adult education in rural areas is the problem of provision and accessibility, which may account for the fact that adult participation in education activities decreases as population density decreases. The Canadian Association for Adult Education reports that "Active learners are more likely to live in major urban centres...than in smaller centres" (CAAE, 1982, p.6).

For the most part, illiteracy rates are higher within rural as opposed to urban settings, while at the same time literacy programs in rural areas are more difficult to sustain than in urban areas (Ferrell & Howley, 1991, p. 368).

Cross (1982) found that barriers to learning differentially affected rural and urban adult learners, stating that participation in rural areas was lower than in urban areas (Cross, 1982). McDaniel (cited in Easton, 1991), classified barriers into personal/ situational, psychological, informational, institutional, and government policy. McCannon (cited in Easton, 1991) found that

> ...rural adult learners do experience significant barriers. The foremost barriers are distance and lack of prior educational attainment and available counselling services. Lack of family support and financial assistance are other barriers that rural learners face (Easton, 1991, p.63).

Thomas pointed out the differential status of adult learners attending programs sponsored by their union, as opposed to programs sponsored by external agencies. For the most part, adults who engage in learning activities as part of a member of some group, are more likely to develop a commitment to the learning process and objectives (Thomas, 1978). Furthermore, it has been found that union members are more likely to participate in adult education activities, with 24 percent participating as opposed to 16 percent of the general population (CAAE, 1982, p.6). However, in general blue collar workers do not have as high participation rates as do white collar workers (Devereaux, 1985).

One method of overcoming barriers to adult participation in educational activities has been the use of computer assisted learning. Heermann reports that "there have been numerous experiments in the use of computer-aided instruction (CAI), primarily in adult basic education, PLATO courses...and drill and practice of basic skills in developmental education" (Heermann, 1986, p.2).

According to Thomasson & Larsen, in CAI, the computer is programmed to

> (1) present information on the screen, (2) pose questions or problems to the student, (3)accept answers, and (4) immediately provide an appropriate feedback message - either confirmation of the student's correct answer or remedial instruction (Thomasson & Larson, 1986, p.68).

The advantages claimed for computer assisted instruction are that it: promotes active learning, allowing for more active integration of theory and practice; allows learners greater ownership of the learning process; and causes adult learners to grapple with strategies for achieving results. However, it is cautioned that computers should not become the sole vehicle for learning, and should be combined with lessons, group interaction, and computer-enhanced activities. These other teaching/learning strategies provide the adult learner with regular and meaningful interaction with peers, and support and feedback from teachers (Heermann, 1986. p.7).

Evaluation of adult literacy and adult basic education programs.

The literature on adult literacy and adult basic education program evaluation points to a number of key factors that need to be investigated. Imel (1988) states the following are areas worthy of attention, especially in programs that are conducted on a voluntary basis using individualized curricula. These are: recruitment activities, retention rates (including absenteeism), one-on-one tutoring with volunteers, appropriate contextual training, support services, appropriate curriculum, and approach of teachers.

Padak and Padak (1991) state that the three main categories for determining program effectiveness in adult literacy consist of personal, programmatic, and external factors. Personal is broken down into academic achievement and quality of life; programmatic into program structure and program content; and external into context-based and financial.

Imel cautions against common evaluation hazards, such as: exaggerated claims of success based on insufficient data; measures of program outcomes not correlated to characteristics of the program; the use of grade-equivalent scores; the use of non-related pre and post-tests; and careless collection of data (Imel, 1988).

The study

In the present study of the program at Port aux Choix/Port Saunders and St. Lunaire/Griquet, the evaluation was a mixture of objectives-based, decision-centred, and responsive models, with the major emphasis upon the first. As this was a preliminary, and hence summative, evaluation effort, it was crucial to determine whether or not program objectives were being met. However, there was also justification for examining data related to decision making, both by program personnel and external audiences.

Research questions

A number of questions can be asked to determine whether or not a program of adult literacy/academic upgrading is succeeding in the early stages. The following questions, based on the work of Padak and Padak (1991), formed the basis for the present study.

Personal Factors: Academic achievement/Quality of life

- To what extent have learners grown as readers and writers?
- To what extent have learners achieved greater fluency in their literacy?
- To what extent do learners and teachers feel that progress has been made toward academic goals?
- To what extent has learners' self-confidence increased?
- To what extent have learners achieved their own goals?
- To what extent has learner self-esteem increased?

Programmatic Factors: Program structure/Program content

- What are the qualifications of program personnel?

- What is the quality of recruitment and retention practices?
- To what extent does the program structure meet learner needs?
- To what extent does the program show evidence of coordination or collaboration with outside agencies and constituencies?
- What theoretical principles about reading, writing, and learning underlie program content?
- To what extent does the program content meet learners' functional and academic needs and interests?
- To what extent do learners participate in establishing instructional goals and evaluating progress toward them?
- What is the quality of the social and physical context for instruction (interactions between and among learners and teachers, and the physical setting)?

External Factors: Context-based/Financial

- What is the rate of participation?
- To what extent does the program meet needs identified by external groups?
- To what extent has learners' earning power increased?
- To what extent does the program show a return on investment (savings to industry, persons off public assistance)?

Methodology

Methods used to collect and analyze data consisted of document analysis, and personal interviews with instructors, participants, and community committee members. On-site visitation and observation was carried out.

This evaluation combined both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative data were gathered to examine the following: learner progress (comparison of pre-test and current level of functioning); qualifications of program personnel; recruitment and retention; coordination and collaboration; rate of participation. Qualitative data were collected to examine staff and participant perceptions related to the following: learner personal growth as readers and writers; progress toward goals; changes in self-confidence and self-esteem; meeting of individual needs; interaction with curriculum, instructors, and other learners; and social context for instruction.

Observational analysis was conducted on site to analyze the social context for instruction, examining such factors as patterns of learner/instructor interaction; learning formats; physical environment; and psychological environment.

Findings

In general, the program has been very successful for the amount of time it has been operating. The findings of this study are based on the original research questions. They are:

1. Substantial progress has been made in terms of participant growth as readers, writers, and in literacy acquisition.
2. Participants have experienced increases in self-confidence, self-esteem, and self-directedness.
3. Program personnel possess the appropriate qualifications and philosophical approach to operate this program.
4. Recruitment and retention procedures are appropriate for the individuals and communities being served.
5. The program design facilitates participant success.
6. Coordination and collaboration with outside agencies has been utilized.
7. The PLATO computerized curriculum model meets the basic needs of the program and of the participants.
8. The social and physical contexts for instruction are of high quality.
9. A locally based community-oriented approach to adult literacy and upgrading has been successful in this program, and should be maintained.

Discussion and recommendations

Based on this initial evaluation, it can be stated that the FFAW Computer Training Awareness for Inshore Fishermen Program has been developed in such a way that should allow for progress towards the achievement of the FFAW goals as stated at the beginning of this report. The following recommendations come out of this study, and apply to rural adult education programmes:

1. ABE/literacy programs run by private concerns must correlate between the curriculum being used and provincial grade levels, to allow participants to enter the formal system.
2. Recognition of participant efforts needs to be made. The issuing of a certificate of achievement, with a record of course completions, should be considered.
3. In certain subject areas, extra academic assignments need to be developed to supplement the computerized curriculum.
4. In-service activities should be encouraged for program staff.
5. Efforts should be made to standardize reporting methods.
6. Although certain efforts should be made to bring consistency to an expanding program, it is crucial that programs such as this not lose their community-based approach. Individual sites should operate with local control and decision making, albeit with central coordination. This approach would appear to be one of the key reasons for the initial success of this program. Responsiveness to local demands and conditions must not be sacrificed for organizational efficiency.

References

References will be provided upon request.

An Ethic of Care: A Moral Dilemma for Lawyers

Camille Ann Carr, The University of Georgia (USA)

ABSTRACT: This study explores the ways in which lawyers with an ethic of care handle the inherent tension between their personal morality and the ethic of justice underlying their professional ethics. Findings from this qualitative study are discussed, and conclusions are drawn.

RÉSUMÉ: Cette etude explore les différentes manières dont les avocats qui reconnaissent l'importance d'un "ethic of care" concilient la tension inhérente entre leur propre morale et l'éthique de justice qui soustend leur éthique professionnelle. Les résultats de cette étude qualitative sont discutés et des conclusions en sont tirées.

INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The traditional conception of the lawyer's role is undergirded by two ideals, partisanship and neutrality, which determine the conduct of the lawyer (Jack & Jack, 1989; Postema, 1986). In partisanship, the lawyer's only allegiance is to the client. In other words, the lawyer is a partisan of the client. The lawyer is committed to pursue the client's objectives with zeal within and up to the limits of the law. Neutrality means that the lawyer must represent the client and his/her objectives without judging the client's character or the morality of the objectives. The lawyer does not need to consider, nor be held responsible for, the consequences of his/her decisions and actions so long as the lawyer acts within the limits of the law. Consequently, partisanship and neutrality yield an impersonal relationship between lawyer and client (Jack & Jack, 1989). The lack of moral considerations by the lawyers helps guarantee that the client will have his/her day in court. The adversary system of the law works, then, when lawyers fulfill their prescribed professional role and do not substitute this role with their personal values of right and wrong. The adversary system consists of lawyers who remain detached from their personal morals, maintain neutrality, and act as partisans.

The legal system in the United States utilizes the competitive, adversarial model, which is based on rights, equality, rules and principles, justice, fairness, and reciprocity (Jack & Jack, 1989). The symbol for justice is the goddess Themis, who is blindfolded to be unaware of individual differences and holding the scales in balance. This moral perspective of individualized treatment and blind justice is known as the ethic of justice. According to this legal system, lawyers should possess the moral perspective of ethic of justice.

The ethic of justice is a moral perspective in which the rights of others are respected (Kohlberg, 1963). An individual is considered independent from others. The ethic of justice is characterized as impersonal and abstract and is focused on ideal situations. In the ethic of justice, a moral conflict is defined as competing rights (Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969). In other words, conflicts are resolved by applying a universal moral principle (Brabeck, 1983). To be moral is to recognize and respect the rights of others (Kohlberg, 1963). Morality develops toward a reflective understanding of human rights.

An alternative to the ethic of justice is the ethic of care, a moral perspective that is based on the premise that care and responsibility are extended to others while hurt is avoided (Gilligan, 1982). It is concerned with maintaining relationships and connections with others. The individual and others are considered interdependent. Others are seen as unique and should be treated based on their particular circumstances. The ethic of care is characterized as personal and concrete and is focused on particular moral situations. The image of the ethic of care is that of a web, as relationships between self and other are sustained. A moral conflict in the ethic of care is defined as conflicting responsibilities. Resolution of the moral conflict uses contextual and inductive reasoning (Brabeck, 1983). To be moral is to care for and protect others and to avoid inflicting hurt (Gilligan, 1982). Morality develops toward an increased understanding between the dynamics of relationships between self and others.

Lawyers who maximally identify with their professional role accept the role and its duties without question (Jack & Jack, 1989; Postema, 1986). However, some lawyers may not internalize their professional role and may often find tension between their personal morality and professional ethics. Lawyers with an ethic of care may often feel tension as their personal value systems conflict with their professional ethics. The purpose of this study was to explore the ways that lawyers with an ethic of care handle the inherent tension between their personal morality and the ethic of justice that underlies their professional ethics.

METHODOLOGY

In this qualitative study, a purposive sample of 13 lawyers, both men and women, were interviewed. Of these, 10 lawyers, seven women and three men, were determined to have an ethic of care and their interviews were used in the data analysis. Questions were centered around the following broad areas: how the lawyer understands and defines his/her role, the interaction with clients, and how the lawyer resolves conflicts between his/her personal morality and professional ethics.

FINDINGS

An analysis of the research data yielded three strategies that lawyers with an ethic of care use to handle the inherent tension between their moral orientation and the ethic of justice underlying their professional ethics. The first strategy, Selective Practice, illustrates how lawyers are selective in their practice in terms of arenas of practice and clientele. The second strategy to emerge from the data, Extended Sense of Responsibility Beyond Client, describes how lawyers with an ethic of care extend their responsibility beyond their clients to family members of the client, the opposing party, or to society in general. Finally, these lawyers are person centered in their relationship with their clients. This strategy, Person Centered versus Problem Centered, is described in terms of two properties: (a) lawyers focus on alternative ways of resolving disputes, and (b) they assume a counselor or educator role.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

From these findings, three conclusions are drawn. First, the ethic of care is defined by the construct of connection, even in an ethic of justice system. Second, within an ethic of justice system, lawyers with an ethic of care have found ways to express their ethic. Finally, the ethic of care is inconclusively related to gender.

The Ethic of Care is Defined by the Construct of Connection, Even in an Ethic of Justice System

In this study, findings from the interview data provide substantial evidence for the construct of connection, which I view as the essence of the ethic of care. The adversarial system supports the ethic of justice, a moral perspective in which individuals are independent from others. In the ethic of care, individuals are viewed as "dependent upon connection, as sustained by activities of care" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 57). In her research, Gilligan defines connection through discussions of aggression, altruism, a societal perspective, consequences to others, and understanding others' perspectives. Lawyers in this study expressed the ethic of care through connection, as defined by Gilligan. One such expression was described by Nancy and Jane in their dislike for the competition and aggression in certain types of practice, leading them to other fields within law. Both described themselves as not being competitive, nasty, or aggressive. They feel threatened by separation that is inherent in competition and aggression. They therefore differentiate themselves from that through their self definition, and by switching to different fields of law. This desire to maintain connection supports Gilligan's research. According to Gilligan, "if aggression is tied to the fracture of human connection, then the activities of care, ... are the activities that make the social world safe, by avoiding isolation and preventing aggression rather than by seeking rules to limit its extent" (p. 43). Further, she states that aggression appears as "a fracture of connection, the sign of a failure of relationship" (p. 43). Steve, a domestic relations lawyer, also differentiates himself from other lawyers who are aggressive and refers clients who want an aggressive lawyer to those types of lawyers. This finding of the disdain of aggression and the seeking of connection also supports Lyons' (1983, 1987) studies, in which she expanded Gilligan's work on the notion of connection. Lyons also found that individuals who describe themselves as connected more often use the ethic of care.

The construct of connection was illustrated by the lawyers in this study through reference to a societal perspective. David described himself as a socialist and both he, Nancy, and Ruth chose to represent clients who belonged to the underrepresented group in society, the lower socioeconomic class and the imprisoned. A societal perspective was also represented by those lawyers, such as Sara and Jane, who felt a responsibility to society, not just to their clients. This characteristic of a societal perspective supports Gilligan's (1982) description of connection. In analyzing a woman's response to Kohlberg's Heinz dilemma in which the woman subsumes the law to considerations of responsibility, Gilligan says: "Judging the law now in terms of whom it protects, she extends her ethic of responsibility to a broader vision of societal connection" (p. 55). The findings in this study show the desire of these lawyers to preserve societal connection by recognizing the inadequacy of the law to protect the disenfranchised. Representing this group then becomes an activity of care. In a study of lawyers, Landwehr (1982) categorized their stages of moral reasoning based on Kohlberg's theory and scoring system. He found that 90% of the respondents were at stage 4, in which individuals are described as protective of the status quo. Landwehr claims that lawyers who reason at stage 4 protect individuals from political and social instability. It is evident that lawyers in this current study who represent the disenfranchised want to disturb the status quo. Therefore, they could be categorized in the remaining 10% of Landwehr's group.

Another way that the construct of connection was expressed by lawyers was in their consideration of the consequences of the outcomes of the cases to others. Lawyers felt a moral responsibility to determine all of the individuals who were connected to their client and who would be affected by the outcome of the case. Care was extended to family members, society, and the opposing parties by all of the lawyers in this study. Gilligan (1982) described the moral development of a woman toward the ethic of care through the woman's response to the Heinz dilemma created by Kohlberg. The woman described a morally responsible person as someone who considers the consequences of his or her actions to everyone involved. The findings in this study supported this notion of connection.

Mediation is seen as a way of maintaining connections, as it is not adversarial but focuses on negotiation and cooperation. Nancy practices mediation of family issues because, concerning relationships, she says "you should do what you can to preserve that and not destroy it." Others expressed connection by ensuring that the opposing party was not deceived but aware of the events in the case. Even in the adversarial process of contract law, Brad extended care to the opposition by keeping the other party aware of the happenings of the case. These findings provide clear and substantial support for demonstrating connection by considering the implications of actions.

A final area in which the construct of connection found in the interview data supports Gilligan's (1982) description of connection, is in the notion of understanding others' perspectives. This aspect of connection is well supported by the findings from this study. All lawyers practiced interpersonal relations skills to facilitate connections with clients. Thus, these lawyers related to clients in a holistic way. These findings also support Jack and Jack's (1989) study of lawyers, in which they positioned lawyers on a continuum from maximal role identification to minimal role identification. In Position 1, lawyers maximally identified with their professional role, and subordinated all outside interests. In Position 2, lawyers recognized how personal values and professional ethics may conflict, but subordinated personal values. In Position 3, the conflict between personal values and professional ethics was great and often created dissonance for lawyers. In Position 4, however, there was no tension because personal values superseded professional ethics. Jack and Jack described lawyers categorized at Position 4, Minimum Role Identification, as those who view their clients holistically and who described their relationships with clients as active, involved concern. The lawyers in this study can be placed in Position 4, as described by Jack and Jack.

The data from these findings, though, contradict conclusions made by Gilligan concerning men and connection in which she claims that men value separation and are threatened by connection. She states that "it appears that men and women may experience attachment and separation in different ways and that each sex perceives a danger which the other does not see--men in connection, women in separation" (p. 42). As discussed above, this study found that male as well as female lawyers may possess an ethic of care expressed through the construct of connection.

Lawyers With an Ethic of Care Have Discovered Ways to Express it, Even Within an Ethic of Justice System

The principles that guide lawyers, as promulgated by the American Bar Association, are partisanship and neutrality (Jack and Jack, 1989; Postema, 1986). The adversarial legal system is considered well functioning if lawyers fulfill this prescribed role (Wasserstrom, 1986). This study set out to discover how lawyers with an ethic of care handle the tension between the ethic of care and the ethic of justice. The three major findings and their subcategories and properties provide evidence that lawyers express their ethic of care in the profession of law. Lawyers express their ethic of care by purposefully being selective in their practice in terms of arenas of practice and type of clientele, by extending their sense of responsibility beyond their clients to family, society, or the opposing party, and by being person centered in their relationship with clients.

Lawyers in this study were selective in their practice in order to express their ethic of care. They were selective through the type of law they practiced, the structure of their practice, the cases they chose, and the type of clientele they represented. Both men and women lawyers noted the altruistic desire to help people as a reason for selecting certain types of law. Many of these lawyers are in domestic relations law, a type of practice that deals with families and their problems. This type of law, then, would present many opportunities for maintaining relationships by extending care. The characteristic of altruism was addressed by Greeno and Maccoby (1986) in their discussion on the stereotyping of women as altruistic and empathetic. Greeno and Maccoby cite research that found that women rate themselves and other women they know as being altruistic. However, Greeno and Maccoby point out that a relationship between women and altruism and empathy is not substantiated in the research on "helping." The findings from this study support Greeno and Maccoby's report because they illustrate that both men and women lawyers were found to be altruistic and this was expressed in their reasons for selecting a practice. The selection of private practice illustrates how lawyers can express their moral orientation by balancing their own needs with those of others. Being selective as a way of balancing responsibilities to self and others supports Gilligan's (1982) description of the ethic of care.

The finding that lawyers were selective through the cases they chose is contradictory to the role-differentiated behavior expected of the lawyer. In role-differentiated behavior, the lawyer separates his or her professional self from the personal self. According to Wasserstrom (1986), this behavior makes it appropriate for lawyers to keep separate all outside interests. The lawyers in this study chose not to behave in a detached, role-differentiated way, but instead chose to remain attached to their clients by judging their clients through their own morality. Selecting a specific type of clientele to represent presented opportunities for lawyers to express their ethic of care. Several lawyers chose to represent the lower socioeconomic group. Lawyers representing this group act out of care for those with less power and fewer resources. They seek to connect with this group and to keep this group from becoming disconnected from society. This finding supports Gilligan's (1982) claim that individuals with an ethic of care value societal connection. In Landwehr's (1982) study, he found that 90% of the lawyers surveyed were at Kohlberg's stage 4. Lawyers in this current study wanted to challenge the status quo and reach out to those not protected by society, the underrepresented. Therefore, they may fall in the remaining 10% of Landwehr's participant group.

The second major finding in this study was that lawyers with an ethic of care expressed this ethic by extending their sense of responsibility beyond their client to family, to the opposing party, and to society in general. This is described by Gilligan (1982) as characteristic of the ethic of care, in which individuals consider the consequences of actions to others who will be affected by the action. These lawyers considered the consequences to all individuals involved in their cases and extended care to them. The finding that lawyers will extend their responsibilities to others clearly contradicts the lawyer's professional ethics of zealous representation while subordinating all outside interests. Extending their responsibilities to everyone allowed these lawyers to maintain relationships.

The findings from this study support a finding from Jack and Jack's (1989) research on the moral reasoning of men and women lawyers. Jack and Jack categorized lawyers according to how they responded to the demands of professional responsibility. In Positions 1 through 3, the lawyers subordinated outside interests to their professional ethics. In Position 4, the lawyers identified with their professional role in a minimal way. Professional ethics were subordinated to their personal values as they acted independently of their professional ethics. The lawyers interviewed in the current research study can be classified at Position 4. The findings from this study are evidence that lawyers in Position 4 may have an ethic of care. This study, then, helps to expand Jack and Jack's contribution by further defining Position 4 to include specific ways in which lawyers express their ethic of care.

The third major finding is that lawyers with an ethic of care are person centered rather than problem centered and express this in an ethic of justice system by focusing on alternative dispute resolution and by assuming a counselor or educator role. Alternative dispute resolution is based on cooperation and accommodation, two aspects of the ethic of care, as opposed to the competition and aggression of the ethic of justice. Cooperation and accommodation help to protect relationships by bringing individuals together. These lawyers demonstrate their value of connection by advocating this alternative form of resolving conflicts.

As counselors and educators, these lawyers related to their clients in a holistic way. Their interpersonal relations skills illustrate how lawyers attempt to know and relate to their clients in a holistic, personal, attached way. The finding that lawyers were empathetic to their clients supports Greeno and Maccoby's (1986) report on empathy being displayed by both men and women when unobtrusively observed. The finding that these lawyers sought to understand the perspectives of their clients supports Gilligan's (1982) claim that the ethic of care is based in part on this notion.

Lawyers in this study did not simply extract the legal problem from the client, but understood the client in relation to the problem. Viewing people in the context of their particular situation is characteristic of the ethic of care described by Gilligan (1982). These lawyers differentiated themselves from lawyers who were simply interested in removing the legal problem from the client and dealing with it.

This final finding, that lawyers express their ethic of care by relating to their clients in a personal way, supports and extends Jack and Jack's (1989) research. In their study on the moral reasoning of lawyers, Jack and Jack found that lawyers who minimally identify with their professional role relate to their clients in a holistic way and respond to them as individuals rather than legal problems. They also describe these lawyers as relating to their clients with active, involved concern. The findings from the current study support this description and further delineate this relationship by describing specifically how these lawyers relate to clients. This study adds to Jack and Jack's findings because it clearly illustrates that lawyers at Position 4 may have an ethic of care and can express it in practice. It may also provide evidence for the ethic of care not existing in lawyers who are in Positions 1 and 2.

The Ethic of Care is Inconclusively Related to Gender

A final conclusion drawn from this study is that the ethic of care is inconclusively related to gender. There is, however, a modicum of support for the ethic of care's association with women. In this study, more women lawyers than men were referred to the researcher as potential participants. In total, seven of the ten lawyers interviewed were women. Jack and Jack's (1989) study suggests a relationship between women lawyers and the ethic of care. Gilligan (1982) conducted her research on moral development on women because they were left out from previous research by Kohlberg. From her findings, she has associated the ethic of care with women. Based on these findings, it is possible that the ethic of care is more prevalent in women lawyers.

However, in this current study, no gender differences were found in the strategies that lawyers with an ethic of care use to handle the inherent tension between their care orientation and their professional ethics. Both men and women lawyers selected practices and types of clientele for the same reasons. There were no differences in the ways in which they extended their sense of responsibility beyond their clients. Finally, both men and women lawyers in this study were person centered in their approach to clients. No gender differences were found in how they focused on alternative dispute resolution or assumed a counselor or educator role. The conclusion that the ethic of care is inconclusively related to gender is further supported by empirical studies by Donenberg and Hoffman (1988), Pratt and Royer (1982), Friedman, Robinson, and Friedman (1987), Ford and Lowery (1986), and Walker (1984).

REFERENCES

Brabeck, M. (1983). Moral judgment: Theory and research on differences between males and females. *Developmental Review, 3*, 274-291.

Donenberg, G. R., & Hoffman, L. W. (1988). Gender differences in moral development. *Sex Roles, 18*, 701-717.

Ford, M. R., & Lowery, C. R. (1986). Gender differences in moral reasoning: A comparison of the use of justice and care orientations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 777-783.

Friedman, W. J., Robinson, A. B., & Friedman, B. L. (1987). Sex differences in moral judgments? A test of Gilligan's theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 11*, 37-46.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Greeno, C., & Maccoby, E. (1986). How different is the different voice? In L. Kerber, C. Greeno, E. Maccoby, Z. Luria, C. Stack, & C. Gilligan (Eds.), On *In a different voice*: An interdisciplinary forum. *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 11*, 304-333.

Jack, R., & Jack, D. C. (1989). *Moral vision and professional decisions: The changing values of men and women lawyers*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Kohlberg, L. (1963). The development of children's orientations toward a moral order. *Vita Humana, 6* (1-2), 11-33.

Kohlberg, L., & Kramer, R. (1969). Continuities and discontinuities in childhood and adult moral development. *Human Development, 12*, 93-120.

Landwehr, L. (1982). Lawyers as social progressives or reactionaries: The law and order cognitive orientation of lawyers. *Law and Psychology Review, 7*, 39-51.

Lyons, N. P. (1983). Two perspectives: On self, relationships, and morality. *Harvard Educational Review, 53*, 125-146.

Lyons, N. (1987). Ways of knowing, learning and making moral choices. *Journal of Moral Education, 16*, 226-239.

Postema, G. J. (1986). Moral responsibility in professional ethics. In M. Davis and F. I. Elliston (Eds.), *Ethics and the legal profession* (pp. 158-182). Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books.

Pratt, M. W., & Royer, J. M. (1982). When rights and responsibilities don't mix: Sex and sex-role patterns in moral judgment orientation. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science, 14*, 190-204.

Walker, L. J. (1984). Sex differences in the development of moral reasoning: A critical review. *Child Development, 55*, 677-691.

Wasserstrom, R. (1986). Lawyers as professionals: Some moral issues. In M. Davis and F. I. Elliston (Eds.), *Ethics and the legal profession* (pp. 114-131). Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books.

Les difficultés d'apprentissage chez l'adulte: la perspective de l'apprenant.

Estelle Chamberland
Université de Montréal

Résumé

Les recherches sur l'adulte en difficulté d'apprentissage sont peu nombreuses et les connaissances qui en découlent sont fragmentaires. Dans cet article, nous portons un regard sur la perspective de ces adultes quant au problème qu'ils vivent. Les résultats de la première étape d'une recherche exploratoire qualitative sont présentés; ils concernent l'analyse factorielle naïve spontanée effectuée par des adultes concernant leurs difficultés d'apprentissage.

Abstract

This paper is about the learners' perspective on their learning disabilities. Data in this area are few and fragmentary. An exploratory qualitative research has been conducted with learning disabled adults and the primary results are presented here; they concern the naïve and spontaneous attributional analysis made by these adults on their problem.

Introduction

Bien que les difficultés d'apprentissage chez l'adulte aient été l'objet d'une préoccupation grandissante durant la dernière décennie, il s'agit là d'un champ d'étude relativement nouveau sur lequel on possède actuellement peu de connaissances. Le terme difficulté d'apprentissage recouvre un très large spectre de manifestations hétérogènes et de causes diverses qui se traduisent globalement par un écart important entre d'une part, le niveau de résussite escompté pour la personne compte tenu de son potentiel intellectuel et, d'autre part, son niveau de réussite réel dans l'acquisition et l'utilisation de connaissances et d'habiletés de toutes sortes.

De toutes les catégories d'adultes présentant des difficultés d'apprentissage notre recherche s'est penchée sur celle qui regroupe des personnes dont les difficultés n'originent pas d'un handicap physique ou sensoriel, d'une déficience intellectuelle, d'un traumatisme cérébral, ni d'un trouble de la santé mentale. Les difficultés d'apprentissage qui nous préoccupent sont donc de celles pour lesquelles on n'a pas d'explication claire mais qui cependant, ont des implications importantes sur la vie, le développement et l'adaptation sociale d'adultes qui, par ailleurs, ne trouvent pas de lien de filiation avec des groupes spécifiques reconnus et supportés par la société (handicapés, déficients intellectuels, analphabètes etc.).

Les recherches auprès de cette population sont peu nombreuses et les connaissances peu avancées. (Buchanan et Wolf,1986; Gerber, 1986; Gerber et al., 1990; Hoffman et al. 1987). Elles ont porté essentiellement sur l'évaluation et la description des types d'échecs, des niveaux de performance ainsi que sur la persistance et l'étendue de l'impact de ces difficultés dans divers secteurs de la vie et sur l'état psychologique de la personne. (Johnson et Blalock, 1987; Gerber et al., 1990; Schulman, 1984). On a donc développé certaines connaissances sur ce que ces adultes produisent ou sur ce qu'ils n'arrivent pas à produire mais on ne dispose guère d'information sur la perspective qu'adopte l'apprenant face à son problème: la perception qu'il a des éléments qui le composent et l'organisation dynamique qu'il en fait qui lui permet d'expliquer son état actuel et de donner une cohérence à la réalité à laquelle il fait face.

De nombreux chercheurs se sont intéressés aux explications que les individus donnent aux comportements et aux événements. Leurs travaux montrent clairement que les gens vont spontanément au-delà des données tangibles d'une situation, inférant des explications et des justifications qui leur permettent de la comprendre et de s'y adapter. (Deschamps 1990) C'est ce que Heider (1958) a nommé le processus d'attribution et qu'il a défini comme étant "le processus par lequel l'homme appréhende la réalité et peut la prédire et la maîtriser" . Ce processus spontané répondrait à un besoin d'équilibre cognitif que produit une vision cohérente et stable de la réalité dans un univers qui, autrement apparaîtrait comme un chaos. (Heider 1958: voir Deschamps et Clemence 1990; Kelley, 1967: voir Weary, Stanley et Harvey, 1989).

Ces explications qui composent ce qu'on peut appeler une analyse factorielle naïve constituent une grande part de l'image du monde propre à l'individu, image qu'il a construite sur la base de ses expériences et qui gouverne ses perceptions, ses interprétations, ses décisions et ses actions actuelles et futures dans son rapport au monde et sa façon d'apprendre (Fish, Weakland et Segal, 1986; Watzlawick, 1978). Cela rejoint ce qu'Erickson (voir Haley, 1984) appelle "l'orientation à la réalité" d'un individu, celle qui cadre sa pensée, sa vie affective, son action, qui détermine ses attentes et ses réactions. Dans une perspective systémique, la connaissance des éléments qui constituent ce cadre et de la structure dymnamique de celui-ci est essentielle à l'élaboration d'une intervention éducative stratégique efficace.

Plusieurs recherches ont examiné le processus d'attribution dans des situations de réussite et d'échec (Forsyth, 1986; Luginbuhl, Crowe et Kahan, 1975;Weary, Stanley et Harvey,1989). Cependant, les résultats contradictoires, les caractéristiques des échantillons et la méthodologie de ces recherches (situations expérimentales généralement très loin des situations vécues par les adultes en difficulté d'apprentissage), en rendent les conclusions difficilement transférables à la problématique qui nous préoccupe.

Nous avons donc amorcé une recherche exploratoire qualitative dans le but de mieux saisir la manière dont les adultes en difficulté d'apprentissage contextualisent leur problème. La première étape de cette recherche consiste à identifier et à préciser les thèmes autour desquels cette contextualisation[1] s'effectue.

Description de la recherche.

Les sujets sont huit adultes, (2) hommes et (6) femmes ayant entre 25 et 55 ans, provenant de milieux socioculturels divers et qui éprouvent des difficultés d'apprentissage persistantes ayant un impact qu'ils estiment important sur leur vie.

Les données ont été recueillies selon trois modalités: 1) une entrevue semi-structurée au cours de laquelle le sujet décrit la nature et l'étendue de ses difficultés et retrace dans son histoire personnelle les moments et les événements qui ont un lien avec son problème, 2) un récit spontané s'une situation vécue typique où il se trouvait confronté à ses difficultés, et 3) une situation projective où l'imagination est mise à contribution. Les verbalisations des sujets ont été enregistrées puis retranscrites au verbatim pour fins d'analyse. Les données ainsi obtenues sont de trois types: descriptives (des faits relatés), cognitives (les rationnalisations) et symboliques (les images mentales métaphoriques)

Résultats

L'analyse qualitative de ces données révèle que l'un des thèmes centraux de la contextualisation effectuée par les sujets est l'analyse factorielle qu'ils font de leurs difficultés. On ne s'étonnera pas que les adultes en difficulté d'apprentissage, particulièrement du fait de la chronicité de leur problème et du fait aussi que l'impact de celui-ci s'étend à divers secteurs de leur vie, tendent spontanément à identifier les facteurs responsables de leur situation.

Dans cette analyse faite par les sujets, on retrouve des facteurs de nature biologique, psychologique et sociale. La description qu'ils en font permettent de les classer selon le type d'impact qu'ont ces facteurs sur la situation générale du sujet ou sur la difficulté d'apprentissage elle-même. Ainsi, certains facteurs jouent un rôle de prédisposition aux difficultés d'apprentissage, d'autres jouent un rôle soit de précipitation soit de perpétuation de la difficulté alors que certains jouent un rôle d'aide en termes d'amélioration de la situation.

---

[1] La contextualisation est un processus naturel et spontané qui consiste à établir des relations entre les choses et les événements et à structurer ces relations pour former en quelque sorte un contexte, sorte d'image cohérente qui donne un sens à la situation.

Un facteur prédisposant constitue en quelque sorte un terrain propice à l'apparition de difficultés ou contribue à placer la personne dans une disposition qui l'inclinerait à développer des difficultés d'apprentissages.

Dans cette catégorie on retrouve :

des conditions biologiques: faiblesse de la constitution, cycle d'éveil et de sommeil, maladies, etc.,

des conditions psychologiques: des aspects de la personnalité: une attitude psychologique fondamentale dans le rapport au monde (introversion, extraversion), le tempérament (actif, passif, etc.); l'image de soi ; le rythme d'apprentissage ou de fonctionnement général etc.

des conditions familiales et sociales: (en première ligne les parents, puis l'école et la société) elles réfèrent à des croyances, des préjugés et des valeurs familiales et parfois du groupe social d'appartenance qui régissent la vie et les rapports et qui marginalisent la personne en difficulté; un climat familial malsain et stressant; l'instabilité; des attitudes dévalorisantes, trop exigeantes ou surprotectrices, brutales ou d'indifférence des éducateurs et des proches entraînant le sentiment de ne pas être désiré et de ne pas correspondre aux attentes des parents et des éducateurs; une carence éducative; un stress prolongé, etc.

Un facteur précipitant est par analogie au phénomène de précipitation en chimie, un élément qui contribue à rendre manifeste et tangible la difficulté d'apprentissage. Le facteur précipitant agit comme déclencheur de la difficulté. Il s'agit généralement d'un événement vécu comme traumatisant ou encore fournissant une scène sur laquelle pouvait prendre place la difficulté qui, dans d'autres circonstances ne se serait pas manifestée, comme par exemple: l'entrée à l'école, l'absentéisme dû à une maladie prolongée ou chronique; la réaction psychologique à un traumatisme comme la perte ou la menace de perte d'une personne très significative, la perte d'emploi; etc.

Un facteur perpétuant contribue à nourrir le problème. On distingue deux niveaux: l'un qui maintient la difficulté dans son état et sa forme habituels, l'autre qui l'aggrave ou l'accentue. Il faut noter que lorsqu'un facteur prédisposant devient chronique et qu'il se maintient après l'apparition de la difficulté (par exemple un climat familial malsain et stressant), on peut considérer alors qu'il joue un rôle de perpétuation du problème.

Il peut prendre un aspect situationnel (stresseurs), un aspect cognitif (croyances irréalistes, anticipations fatalistes, phobiques, déni etc.), un aspect émotif (anxiété, découragement etc.), un aspect comportemental (habitudes de fuite etc.).

Un facteur aidant est celui qui contribue à l'amélioration de la situation générale de la personne. L'action en est soit compensatoire ou simplement palliative. Dans cette catégorie on retrouve: un événement positif ponctuel; l'aide apportée par une personne significative; un support thérapeutique; la disparition de conditions défavorables, comme par exemple le changement d'attitude des éducateurs et de la famille; l'apparition de conditions favorables nouvelles comme un apport d'information menant à une plus grande compréhension de son propre fonctionnement, les encouragements et la revalorisation de la personne par son entourage, etc.

La poursuite de la recherche

La prochaine étape de notre analyse visera à dégager la structure dynamique de l'analyse factorielle effectuée par les sujets ainsi que son impact sur la façon dont ceux-ci se positionnent par rapport à leurs difficultés et à toute situation d'apprentissage en général. Pour cela, il est essentiel de considérer certaines dimensions de cette analyse factorielle telles que: l'internalité/l'externalité, la stabilité/ l'instabilité, et surtout, le degré de contôle que l'individu est en mesure d'exercer sur les divers facteurs perçus. Ces dimensions devront en outre être mises en perspective selon les modalités temporelles, les modalités circonstancielles d'interaction de l'individu avec son environnement, compte tenu des caractéristiques particulières de cette population adulte, et selon le type de données recueillies et leurs sources qui diffèrent fondamentalement de celles qui ont été utilisées dans les recherches antérieures en matière d'attribution.

Références:

Buchanan M. et Wolf J.S. (1986): A comprehensive study of learning disabled adults. Journal of learning disabilities, 19, 1, 34-38

Chamberland E. (1990): La démarche de contextualisation du visiteur de musée. Thèse de doctorat inédite. Montréal. Université de Montréal

Deschamps J.P. et Clémence A. (1990): La notion d'attribution en psychologie sociale. in: J.C. Deschamps et A. Clémence (dir) (1990) L'attribution: causalité et explication au quotidien. Neuchâtel, Delachaux et Niestlé.

Fish R., Weakland J.H. et Segal L. (1986) Tactiques du changement. trad: C.Cler. Paris, Seuil

Forsyth D. (1986): An attributional analysis of student's reactions to success and failure. in R.S. Feldman (ed) Social psychology of education. New York Cambridge University Press, 17-38.

Gerber P.J. (1986): Learning disabled adult nexus: emerging american issues and european perspectives. Journal of learning disabilities, 19,1, 2-4

Gerber P.J., Schnieders C.A., Paradise L.V., peiff H.B., Ginsberg R.J. et Popp P.AA. (1990): Persisting problems of adults with learning disabilities: self reported comparisons from their school age and adult years. Journal of learning disabilities, 23, 9, 70-73

Haley, J. (1984): Un thérapeute hors du commun: MIlton H. Erickson. Paris Epi. Desclée et Brouwer. trad: Françoise Robert titre original Uncommon therapy 1973.

Hoffman F.I., Sheldon K.L., Minskoff E.H., Sautler S.W., Steidle E.F., Baker D.P., Bailey M.B., Echols L.D. (1987): Needs of learning disabled adults. Journal of learning disabilities, 20, 1, 43- 52.

Johnson D.J. et Blalock J.W. (ed.) (1987) Adults with learning disabilities: clinical studies. Olrlando Florida. Grune & Stratton.

Luginbuhl E.R., Crowe D.H., et KAhan J.P. (1990): Attributions causales de la réussite et de l'échec. in J.C. Deschamps et A. Clémence (dir.) L'attribution: causalité et explication au quotidien. Neuchâtel. Delachaux et Niestlé. Article paru initialement en anglais sous le titre "Causal attribution for success and failure." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31. 86-93

Schulman S.S. (!984): Psychotherapeutic issues for the learning disabled adult. Professionnal Psychology: Research and practice . 1 ,6, 846-867.

Watzlawick P. (1978): Le langage du changement. trad: J. Wiener- Renucci. Paris. Seuil.

Weary G., Stanley M.A. et Harvey J.H. (1989): Attribution. New York Springer Verlag.

TEACHING AND LEARNING ACROSS OUR HISTORICAL DIFFERENCES: THE INTERPROVINCIAL HOME FOR YOUNG WOMEN 1920 - 1926

Don Chapman
Division of Adult and Vocational Education
University of New Brunswick
Bag Service # 45333
Fredericton, New Brunswick
E3B 6E3

ABSTRACT

This conference session will be the report of an historical case study. The purpose is to re-visit and describe, from an interpretive perspective, a little-known Atlantic Canadian adult education venture intended for women. This enterprise began in the early 1920s and after some disarray which emerged in the early 1970s, was transformed into the Coverdale Trust, a funding agency which supports a number of helping initiatives in the Atlantic region of today.

The conference presentation will outline the nature of the early vision of the innovation and the manner in which the collaboration came into being and was sustained. The research to be reported is based upon an examination of historical documents. Extensive archival materials are held in the collection of the New Brunswick Public Archives, including: board minutes, institutional reports and financial records, informal written histories, copies of legislation, newspaper reports, government reports and sundry correspondence. Documentation also was obtained from the archives of the University of New Brunswick.

In part, the session will be premised on the notion that active reflection ought to be part of cultural and institutional change, particularly for educators. Session participants will be encouraged to critique the interpretation of the researcher and to suggest their own sense of the changing culture of Canada as reflected in this case.

A Home for Young Women

On Wednesday, February 3, 1926, the Saint John, New Brunswick, Telegraph-Journal reported that the day previously, in the face of a driving snow storm, "The Inter-Provincial Home For Women" marked its official opening in Coverdale, just outside Moncton, New Brunswick. According to this and other newspaper reports throughout New Brunswick, in spite of the weather, the opening was attended by hundreds of interested spectators and invited guests. The opening day combination of adverse circumstances and broadly-based support seems to be a useful frame through which to understand the development of what one speaker that day described as an "emblem of our faith in these provinces that those who go wrong may yet get right."

The Interprovincial Home For Young Women was a cooperative, church-based, venture. It was what we today might call an adult education initiative, but it was at a time in which social sensibilities were perhaps other than those to which we ascribe today. On the other hand, like other early adult education ventures, this project may have been foundational to our current ways of being together as Canadians helping one another.

This home for up to 25 residents operated within a framework of provincial and federal legislation. Creation of the home involved several churches and the collaboration of the federal government and three provincial governments, of municipal jurisdictions within three provinces, and of various elements of the respective provincial court systems.

The minute book of the board of the Interprovincial Home for Young Women records that the formation meeting -- "a free and informal conference" -- took place at the Moncton Young Men's Christian Association almost six years previous to the actual opening (PANB, May 17, 1920). A note added to the minute book some two years later (PANB, Jan. 1922) states:

> The origin of the Inter-Provincial Home for Young Women arose out of an interest of a number of citizens of the city of Moncton among whom were the then Chief of Police of the city concerning incarcerating women in jails and the need of a home with Christian influences of redemption. This group of citizens approached the Evangelical Alliance of Moncton N.B. calling its attention to the need.

The originating meeting involved male clergy of the Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, Salvation Army and Methodist churches and resulted in the following resolution:

> Resolved that this meeting of representatives of the various Protestant Churches of the Maritime Provinces, called to consider the matter of a Home for Women, is convinced from the information received today, that there is a need for such a home for women from the age of 16 years and upward, and that it should be Maritime wide in its scope.... That a committee be appointed to examine into the extent of the need, the character and location of the institution, the franchise necessary and to report on the method of financing the establishment and maintenance of the home (PANB, May 17, 1920). [researcher emphasis]

At the opening of the home six years later, the Telegraph-Journal reported that, Rev. Mr. B.M. Maclachlan, social service secretary of the former Presbyterian Church, noted that other such homes in Canada apparently had seen more than 2,500 young women "passed and more than 57 per cent of them ... reclaimed" (Feb. 3, 1926). The remaining 43 per cent of this segment of the nation's female population reportedly were mostly "feeble-minded and not possible of reclamation, but only subjects of care."

It appears, then, that the Interprovincial Home for Young Women was eighth in a country-wide line of social service projects sponsored by protestant churches. As such, this Atlantic region venture might not be of particular note; however, it seems worthy of attention for at least two reasons: First, this project may be an exemplar of community-based initiatives of the region and the time -- its fifty year history deserving of attention. Secondly, this venture was likely unique among its kind. Although no systematic comparison has been made, it is unlikely that any of the other homes operated in such a three-way, cross-provincial setting. Such an inter-provincial undertaking almost 3/4 of a century ago suggests that our 1990s challenge to learn about inter-provincial cooperation may only be a challenge to re-discover a collaborative or cooperative sensibility from our collective past.

A Network of Collaborators

The original collaboration was personal, institutional and governmental. It also was overwhelmingly male. The original four churches were the Salvation Army and the Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches. Representatives of these churches formed the original board of directors and the guiding executive. The board not only included church representatives from the three participanting provinces, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, but it included representatives from the Toronto-based social services departments of the various churches. The Toronto connections established linkages to the Dominion government for legislative purposes. Provincial representatives from the churches made contact with the three provincial governments and, at least in the case of New Brunswick, this linkage appears to have been directly with the Premier. Each of the churches committed $300 start-up funding and Social Services Board of the Presbyterian Church actually provided interim financing for the original purchase of land.

Since the home was to act as a substitute to incarceration in the administration of justice, legislation was required. The court system had to be enabled to direct that women be sent to the home. Legislation also was required because the organizers of the home sought a subsidy of $5/resident day from provincial governments and support from municipalities which used the services. For example, arrangements had to be worked out regarding the payment for transportation to and from the facility.

Organizers sought and obtained local property tax exemption, hence another collaborator in the venture was the municipal government in which the home was located. A Moncton-based trust company provided permanent mortgage financing, but part of the fee for obtaining this service was donated to support the project. The board sought and obtained as patrons, the Lieutenant Governors General of the three participating provinces.

The first employee of the home appears to have been the farmer who farmed the property on which the home was to be built. The second employee of the home appears to have been a person charged with raising funds. The March 10, 1921 executive meeting recorded the first discussion of "the advisablity of placing a financial agent in the field" (PANB, F9086). At a meeting April 20, 1922 the executive moved to "seek the financial support of the Christian public," and the executive was empowered to secure the services of a "financial agent" and to pay $150/mo. plus expenses (PANB, F9086). The home eventually had several paid fund raisers travelling throughout the region, speaking to chuch congregations on Sunday and spending the remainder of the week in the church community, working on face-to-face appeals. These activities seemed to secure the support of individual church congregations, and associated womens groups made donations of clothing, bedding, etc.

Cooperation and Collaboration and Leadership

Looking back almost 70 years, the creation of the Interprovincial Home for Young Women represents an example of astonishing collaboration and community. In retrospect, however, this collaboration clearly seems laced with paternalism and a strong sense of the colonization of women, both as residents, but also as players in the collaboration.

The board which guided the establishment of the Interprovincial Home involved no women. It was in 1948 that a Women's Auxilliary was first established for the home (PANB, MC1268, MC7). During the 1920-26 period, the men on the board paid most attention to matters of legislation, property acquisition, financing and construction. Even though most of board members were clergymen, the records lead one to believe that they were connected to other men who held financial and political power. The collaboration was not without its problems; for example, the executive minutes of Dec. 16, 1924 (PANB, F9086) indicate that the board had $76.29 in the bank and less than three weeks later had accounts coming due of $7,795.31. From the records, it is clear that money was always a problem, but one rarely has a sense that any of these men doubted their ability bring the venture into being or to exert influence where necessary.

As early as 1922, the executive had been actively seeking the services of two local women as potential candidates for the position of matron. Apparently in the face of lack of interest in the position of matron from either of the women, the board decided to seek their advice on "internal arrangements of the proposed new building" (PANB, F9086)-- furnishings and supplies for the home. At a time when funds were very short, one of the women who was being prevailed upon to be matron, agreed to do some fund raising. It appears, however, that her services were minimally utilized in this role. Even though the venture was broadly collaborative, there is no evidence that the board at any time considered the prospect of including such women as members of the board itself.

Education

As indicated earlier, the declared purpose of the project was a desire to offer to young women who came into contact with the criminal justice system, an option to imprisonment. In 1921, the executive passed a mission statement:

> *By motion the mission of the home was declared to be of a redemptive nature for young women over sixteen years of age committed to the home by the courts of the Maritime Provinces, and any [women] placed there at the discretion of the governors of the institution (PANB Apr. 20, 1921).*

The implicit sense is that such young women would be well served by a home-like setting. This sentiment toward a home-like setting is echoed years later in the Chairman's Report to the 1981 Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors of the Coverdale Trust (PANB, MC1268,MS6) In what appears to be a curious contrast to this sentiment, the original executive decided to have a delegation visit what they referred to as "similar facilities" in the United States (PANB, June 19, 1923). The minutes of the July 1923 meeting report that the U.S. visits would be to the N.Y. State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills, N.Y. and to the State Reformatory for Women at Farmingham, Mass. It is not clear if such visits actually took place, nor what may have been the results. It is, however, striking that while "similar facilities" in the United states were labeled as reformatories, the executive sustained the label "home" as part of the name of the interprovincial project.

The minutes indicate a number of discussions about the institutional name and a variety of actual versions (PANB, Mar. 10, 1921; Jan. 10, 1922), but the notion of "home" as part of the name appeared never to be in dispute. The *name Interprovincial Home for Young Women, was decided finally in 1923. An interesting touch regarding the level of detail addressed to this matter of name is included in the minutes, which state specifically that Interprovincial would be "without a hyphen or second capital" (PANB, March 20,1923).*

At this point, it is not absolutely clear whether there was more to this sense of "home" than a vague idea of basic care, of exposure to Christian values and of familiarity with routines such as attendance at church and the inculcation of domestic capabilities. It does seem clear, however, that "home," as a notion, was a key part of the original "reforming" vision of these men; and in looking backward, one can hardly avoid the sense of "domestication."

The executive minutes of March 10, 1921 mention plans to secure the services of a "matron" (PANB, F9086). The record, however, contains no explanation of the role of matron. A dictionary of the time defines matron as:

> *a married woman, especially an elderly one...; the lady superintendent of an hospital or institution (Nuttall's, c. 1890).*

A more contemporary dictionary states:

> *a woman who supervises women or children (as in a school or police station) (Webster's, 1983).*

While the board at various times between 1921 and 1925 considered applicants for the position of "matron," it was not until the executive meeting of Nov. 17, 1925 -- one month after deciding to officially open the Interprovincial Home in February 1926 and one month after officially hiring the "superintendent" at a salary of $60/mo -- that the board minutes record anything which might be said to be explicitly related to a specific educational plan:

> *[The superintendent] being called upon, made a fitting address and outlined what she considered would be her duties as superintendent of the home. She referred to the possiblity of linen & cotten weaving [presumably as educational/occupational activities for the residents] (PANB, F9086).*

The home, just prior to opening, received the donation of a piano, which one assumes would be for the use or entertainment of the residents. There was discussion of the purchase of a typewriter; it seems unlikely, however, that the typewriter would have been intended for "reclaiming" the residents.

Financing

The building and land purchase for the home approximated $60-65,000. In order to gain some appreciation for the size of the undertaking in financial terms, it is useful to be able to compare the purchasing power of funds in the 1920s to figures with which we are more familiar today. Colombo (1993, p.230) indicates that the purchasing power of one dollar in 1925 was equivalent to $9.22 in 1992.

Changing Cultures and Adult Learning

As individuals, communities, provincial groupings and as a nation, in 1993 a culture of competitiveness and mercantilism appears to overlay much of what we do. A current political agenda apparently is to impel the nation into a new world order of global competitiveness. Such thinking appears most often in the guise of business-like arrangements, dealing with commodities such as beer or steel, with services such as transportation, and with persons thought of as resources to be developed. In our emerging culture, we appear to be more familiar with notions of input-output, user-pay, cost-benefit, client and consumer. In the midst of such cultural change, earlier ideas of cooperation and collaboration may have become transformed into a more business-related notions such as partnership.

Such sensibilities appear to be less informed than they once may have been, by a broad sense of caring, collective social responsibility, and shared or community purpose -- paternalistic as these earlier intentions may have been. Indeed, in an every-day sense, we may no longer understand what such earlier notions meant. On the other hand, such sensibilities may be alive still in not-for-profit, non-government and community-based adult education enterprises.

References

Colombo, J.R. (Ed.). (1993). The Canadian global almanac, 1993, a book of facts. Toronto: Global Press.

Nuttall's standard dictionary. (nd) National Edition (An inscription places the dictionary in a New Brunswick household in 1891).

Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), Fredericton, New Brunswick. Microfilm #F9086 & #F9087. Minute book of the interprovincial home for young women, 1920-1983.

Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), Frederiction, New Brunswick. Manuscript File #MC1268. Interprovincial home for young women, Coverdale.

USING RESPONSIVE EVALUATION TO DISCOVER AND RESPECT DIVERSITY IN ADULT EDUCATION

Kaireen Chaytor
School of Public Administration
Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S. B3H 3J5

Abstract

Les règlements législatifs qui gérent les programmes pour l'éducation des adultes incorporent fréquemment les critères nécessaire pour la réussite projetèe. Cet article suggère que la préférence accordée à l'evaluation pré -ordonnée des programmes est souvent au détriment de l'évaluation réactionnelle. Cette évaluation s'apprète mieux aux méthodes reliées à la construction, à la pratique et au compte-rendu des programmes. Pour adresser les besoins multiples d'une population disparate en éducation aux adultes, il sera peut-être préférable de favoriser l'évaluation réactionnelle, qui réflètera d'avantage la perspective des participants.

Legislative Acts, and programs under the Acts, which empower adult education often suggest the criteria for determining the success of those programs. This paper suggests that our conceptualization and design of programs have favoured preordinate evaluation and limited the opportunities for responsive evaluation. Responsive evaluation employs methods compatible with the construction, practice and reporting of the adult education experience. Addressing the needs of diverse populations through adult education may require a move from preordinate evaluation to evaluations that reflect the participant's perspective.

Introduction

Adult education, like other forms of education is designed, administered and delivered largely through defined programs. The design of programs for adult education is shaped at a macro level by political, social, economic and organizational influences. The micro level of such programs includes structural and operational directions for practice (Shadish, 1987). The two mutually dependent levels combine to define what a program should accomplish. What is to be evaluated, then, is most often predetermined by the definition of the program; i.e., it contains a preordinate evaluation question. In contrast to preordinate evaluation, responsive evaluation requires that decisions about what is to be evaluated be made by participants. It also requires that the evaluator understand and respect the participant perspective, and gather data in accordance with it. Adult education theory includes an assumption that learners be involved in all aspects of their education. This, one must assume, includes the evaluation of the program. This paper asks, should delivering adult education through programs with preordinate evaluation jeopardize the potential to bring adult education theory to practice? This question is pursued through a comparison of the characteristics of preordinate evaluation and responsive evaluation and the application of each type of evaluation for adult education practice. Attention is also given to the role of evaluation in adult education and its impact on practice.

The Use of Programs and Program Theory in Adult Education

A program can be many things in adult education. Definitions range from a rigid notion of an intervention to achieve specific external objectives to a flexible definition where the term merely represents the embodiment of an idea. The term is also used for both the comprehensive educational plan of an organization and for separate parts of that plan, or offerings within a given agency.

The practice of adult education is most often organized around some idea of a program. Tyler's view (1950) of the importance of stated objectives long dominated the designs of programs. Objectives were not only the basis for planning, they were the guide for content, instruction, materials and the only criteria for evaluation. Boyle (1981) brought to adult education the view that a program is the product of all the activities that involve organization, educator and learner. Boone (1985) viewed program only as process and noted five assumptions that permeate that process: 1) it is directed toward change, 2) it is a decision making process 3) it is collaborative between organization and learners 4) it is a system with interrelated parts linked to a whole 5) it is a means by which the organization obtains feedback. Boone's view of program, one now commonly employed, is that of intervention for intended change. Whatever definition we use it is critical to examine its boundaries and how rigidly they exist in order to apply program philosophy and program theory to the practice of a program and its evaluation.

Program philosophy is a system of theories and values that define and guide the structure, population, process and outcomes of a program (Conrad and Miller, 1987) i.e., it determines the way in which programs attempt to address needs. We assume that program philosophy precedes physical and behavioural manifestations of the program. Program theory is the formal position on how a program is supposed to work. It enables the process and outcome to be defined according to a system of beliefs, values and goals. Program theory often clarifies the cause and effect relationship and thus provides the rationale for the program. Both program philosophy and program theory have to be accounted for in the evaluation.

The Evaluation Question - its role

Can an understanding of the construction of the evaluation question help to reconcile the evaluation of programs with both the political needs that must be fulfilled and the needs of program participants? Can we, by knowing more about using evaluation, use the evaluation to discover and report the diversity in adult education practice? If the evaluation question is examined through the components of evaluation theory (Shadish, Cook and Leviton, 1991) then the evaluation question can be assessed for how adequately it reflects the context being evaluated. The explanations of the components of the evaluation question help to see whether the evaluation question adequately represents the context. Shadish et al. explain evaluation theory under the following components:

Social Programming: The program, as an intervention, states a belief that it will improve a social problem. The evaluation must assess whether the program intentions to alleviate a social problem include the perspective from the experience of the program and participants.

Use: The evaluation question includes a statement on how the evaluation information will be used. The evaluation should indicate whether the findings will have only instrumental use or whether an educational value from the process will be respected.

Valuing: Just as programs are not value free, evaluations also make value judgments about programs. The values of the evaluation method need to be made explicit. The values are expressed in the client requesting the evaluation, the question chosen for evaluation, and the methods used to assess the program. The evaluation must be clear about whose values are represented by the process.

Knowledge Creation: Different views of knowledge result in different views of program evaluation. How does the evaluation declare what constitutes acceptable knowledge? The kind of knowledge considered most important to the evaluation should be the kind of knowledge participants want to use.

Practice: The other four components of the evaluation are examined in the decision making about practice. The evaluation must include a statement on the reason it is being initiated, the purpose it might serve, the questions to be included and how they are to be asked, and the role of the evaluator.

Shadish pointed out that these components are contained in the evaluation question, regardless of who constructs the question. It is only through understanding the evaluation question that we can have the evaluation reflect the perspective we hold. The concern addressed in this paper is, who should construct and therefore who should own the evaluation question. In preordinate evaluation, the evaluation question is owned by the funding agency. In responsive evaluation it is hoped the evaluation question is owned by the program and/or participants but that the results should be enlightening to the funding agency.

Program Theory and Preordinate Evaluation

Program philosophy and program theory are inherent in an adult education program. Political beliefs, theories of how to influence complex social processes and traditions of common practice are other influences on adult education programs. Conrad and Miller note that "Implicit in the statement that program philosophy is composed of theories and values is that program philosophy includes statements about goals"(1987, p.23). To what extent then does the statement of goals that exists in the legislative or political level influence the program evaluation question? Using the goals as the focus of the evaluation results in preordinate evaluation.

Preordinate evaluation[1] is characterized by having the priorities and the standards for a program selected by an external agency. Program goals are commonly used as the criteria for success and data are gathered by objective measures. Treatments and outcomes to be studied are specified in advance. Preordinate evaluation may not have to consider the context within which the program occurs, ongoing changes in the program, or diverse views of participants. Stake (1983) noted that preordinate evaluation establishes stimuli, standard stimuli to which the program must respond. In the discussion of responsive evaluation (the term responsive, referring to a stimulus-response relationship) there will be explanation of how responsive evaluation considers the principal stimuli to be those naturally occurring in the program. The preordinate evaluation question serves well, the need to determine whether programs support the national priorities of the government, but may not allow for matters of importance to adult education, such as the context in which practice occurs.

---

[1] M. Scriven, In *Evaluation Thesaurus* (1991) defines preordinate evaluation by stating "See Responsive Evaluation, which is partly defined as being the opposite of preordinate evaluation"(p.272).

Preordinate Evaluation Illustrated

Adult education programs, large and small, formal and informal are for the most part the product of federal legislation intended to carry out national priorities. Be it the Secretary of State, Health and Welfare Canada, or Employment and Immigration Canada, the funding relationships between government and adult education programs are similar[2]. The federal government role has become one of funding agent, and one with a lot of power. The purpose, for example, of the National Training Act, the Act controlling most of the employment programs of the last ten years, was "to establish a national program to provide occupational training for the labour force and thereby to better meet the need for skills created by a changing economy and to increase the earning and employment potential of individual workers" (Statutes p.3194). The purpose of the Act made clear that the intention was to treat training instrumentally. The Act also puts the federal government in charge of information: "For the purposes of assessing the requirements of the labour market for skilled workers, the commission shall request statistical or other information or analysis from appropriate sources, including the government of any province, employers, labour organizations and groups representing adults with special training needs" (Statutes, p.3199). The evaluation is initiated and defined within the needs of the federal government. The program being evaluated is rarely in possession of the resources required to conduct its own evaluation from any other point of view.

Adult Education Theory and Responsive Evaluation

Whether the focus for adult education is from the organizational context, on self-directed learning, about professional enhancement or community development, the common theme in all these challenges is the involvement of the learners in their education. Evaluation of the education does not necessarily involve the learners. Responsive Evaluation attempts to take as its focus the claims, concerns, and issues put forth by members of a variety of stakeholding audiences. An evaluation is responsive if it is oriented to program activities rather than program goals, if it responds to audience requirements for information, and if different value perspectives of participants are respected (Stake, 1983). Most importantly, questions and methods are not imposed but emerge from observing the program during the evaluation. Stake would see evaluation as more of a service -- evaluators size up the program to see which issues and stakeholders can best be served by evaluation inquiries. The evaluator decides what to address. A drawback (which Stake acknowledges) is that responsive evaluation does sacrifice some precision in measurement, but it may be compensated for in the usefulness of the findings to persons in and around the program. It should be noted that, with the emphasis on multiple perspectives, the evaluation can accommodate several forms of information.

---

[2] In the *Report of the Auditor General of Canada to the House of Commons* (1992), in Chap.1, Matters of Special Importance and Interest it is noted: "Department Need to Tell Their Story in Clear Global Terms" The Office (of the Auditor General) recommends broader-based departmental reporting that is flexible enough to accommodate the sometimes diverse nature of the organiation's activities. Such reporting would answer the following four questions. What are the department's missions and lines of business? How does the department carry out its lines of business to achieve its missions? What are the department's strategic objective for realizing its missions, and its plans for managing the public resources under its control? How well did the department meet its objectives, and how much did it cost? (1.14) Do we need to ask in whose "clear terms"?

Why should the practice of adult education consider responsive evaluation? Stake suggests three reasons. The first is that it allows important program variables to emerge. He argued that whatever truths, whatever solutions there are about programs, exist in the minds of people who are running the program, those participating in the program and those supporting the program. The second reason for using responsive evaluation is that it accommodates ongoing changes in programs. The third reason is that it would increase the responsibility and control of local stakeholders. Stake took the position, similar to one found in adult education theory, that alleviation of educational problems is most likely to be accomplished by the people most directly experiencing the problem. Program participants can be given aid but not specific solutions or replacement programs from other people. In contrast to preordinate evaluation, Stake urges evaluators to resist unquestioned acceptance of goals or service to policy makers. Responsive evaluation attempts to construct the perspective from the participant or program point of view. It can be used to analyse and document the experience of participants as well as the program, in such a way that it can influence any preordinate evaluation question.

Reconciling Program Theory and Evaluation Theory

Evaluation is important. Ultimately it may determine what we know and identify what we need to learn. A well constructed evaluation question tells (or can tell) an important story about a program. However, does the program theory and design direct, permit, or encourage such knowing? If not, has the program theory discouraged such knowing? The challenge is to examine the evaluation and what is required of it.

Federally constructed programs represent highly centralized decision making. Insofar as they attempt to address a diverse population, they attach value to the collective initiatives of such programs. The federal interest in funding programs is directly related to the impact of that funding on broadly defined national priorities. Adult education programs funded by the federal government would consider their contribution to be the accomplishment of program intents. Although they are both working toward the same objectives, albeit from different perspectives, the progress made through programs is also the government's progress. Most importantly, adult education programs are in a position to offer government insight on particular initiatives. However, there is tension between the use of preordinate evaluation that assesses the extent to which the externally defined needs have been met and the use of responsive evaluation that assesses the extent to which the program met the needs of all participants, including learners.

Evaluation theory and practice have expanded their boundaries in ways that can be useful in the construction, practice and reporting of the adult education experience. Evaluation theory and practice have developed methods that quite successfully assess participant perspective. Has this however, been brought to program theory and design? Do we know the information needs of decision makers? Do the measures used influence decision making, especially public policy decision making on which adult education programs are dependent? Insofar as adult education likes to subscribe to theories about learner involvement, but adult education is delivered through some form of program, the appropriate role for the evaluation should be discussed.

REFERENCES

Boone, E.J. (1985). *Developing Programs in Adult Education*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Boyle, P.G. (1981). *Planning Better Programs*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Canada (1982). Statutes of Canada. An Act to establish a national program for occupational training. 29-30-31 Elizabeth II, Chapter 109, 3193-3201.

Conrad, K. and T. Miller (1987). "Measuring and Testing Program Philosophy". In L. Bickman (ed) *Using program theory in Evaluation.* New Dirctions for Program Evaluation, no. 33. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. p.19 -42.

Guba, E. and Y. Lincoln (1981). *Effective Evaluation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Tyler, R.W. (1950). *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*. University of Chicago.

Shadish,W. R.(1987). "Program Micro and Macro Theories: A Guide for Social Change" In L. Bickman (ed) *Using program theory in Evaluation.* New Dirctions for Program Evaluation, no. 33. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. p. 93-109.

Shadish, W.R., Cook, T. D. and Leviton, L.C. (1991). *Foundations of Program Evaluation.* Newbury Park,CA: Sage Publications.

Stake, R. E. (1983). Program Evaluation, Particularly Responsive Evaluation. In G. Madaus, M. Scriven, D. Stufflebeam (eds) *Evaluation Models; Viewpoints on Educational and Human Services Evaluation.* Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing. p. 287-310.

Critical Philosophy-in-Action: Power and Praxis

Donna M. Chovanec and Sue M. Scott, University of Alberta

Hermeneutical analysis of interview texts from six feminist and critical pedagogues suggests that these educators engage in a pedagogical process that includes: (1) a critical worldview, (2) a process of transformation, and (3) a transformative intent. For them, an analysis of power is the crux of a philosophy-in-action.

Une analyse herméneutique des textes d'entrevues de six féministes et critiques pédagogiques suggère que ces éducatrices sont engagées dans un processus pédagogique comprenant: (1) une critique d'une perspective universelle, (2) un processus de transformation, et (3) un dessein de transformation. Pour elles, l'analyse du pouvoir est l'essence même d'une philosophie active.

Introduction

> Praxis...is, in my favorite part of the exegesis, the central concept of a philosophy that did not want to remain a philosophy, philosophy becoming practical. (Lather, 1991, p. 11)

This article focuses on six university instructors who identify themselves as feminist or critical pedagogues. They are drawn from a larger research study which begins with the assumption that one's philosophy drives one's teaching practice or, put another way, teaching constitutes "philosophy-in-action."* Studying the interplay of espoused philosophy and philosophy-in-use allows us to illuminate the complexities of teaching in higher education and provides opportunities for critical reflection about practice.

Although many of the issues raised and strategies used by these six educators are shared by other concerned and committed professors, this group is unique in their over-riding concern with the power dynamics in our society. Starting from a philosophical perspective grounded in critical theory which interrogates systems of power and domination, the analysis of power, both within and outside the classroom, permeates classroom process, content and structure, while empowerment or transformation is the ultimate aim. "Dynamics of power and empowerment are intricately intertwined. Student empowerment, therefore, will depend upon negotiating, not avoiding, the power dynamics..." (Briskin & Coulter, 1992, p. 259). The essential strategy of a critical teaching practice is one of critique. "Critique calls for a special and suspicious interpretation of those ideologies and institutions which support and maintain ruling power structures" (Gallagher, 1992, p. 240). In these classrooms, students don't get information, they challenge it!

While the similarities are striking, the pedagogical differences within this group are also acknowledged and reflect the importance of diversity even within the margins. In this article, we strive to elucidate the shared practices of a critical philosophy-in-action, whether based on feminism or critical social theory. By highlighting these particular participants, we hope to give voice to those whose "very existence creates a space" for alternative theoretical discourses and pedagogical approaches within our academic institutions.

---

* This is an adoption and adaptation of Christopher Hodgkinson's (1991) treatment of educational leadership as philosophy/values-in-action.

Research Design

Theme analysis from two critical and four feminist study participants is the focus of this paper. They are part of a group of fourteen university instructors who were selected in purposive sampling to represent a cross-section of espoused philosophies as well as some diversity of disciplines.* The five women and one man in this group teach in English, Sociology, Physical Education, Canadian Studies, Family Studies and Educational Foundations. Three have less than four years experience at the university and three have been teaching at the university for 10 - 20 years. They teach classes which range in size from 20 to 200 students. None of these professors are members of minority groups.

Participants were each interviewed twice in one hour interviews before and after a classroom observation. The semi-structured, conversational interviews included dialogue on the meaning each participant attempted to give to his/her practice. The purpose of the first interview was to gather general information about the instructor's pedagogy. The second interview drew on the class observation and the first interview to verify, embellish, and probe more deeply into their pedagogy. Interview transcripts and field notes became the texts used for interpretation.

Hermeneutical Analysis

In an attempt to understand what the professors told us about their practice, we revisited the assumptions, beliefs, and theories that constitute their philosophy of teaching. During the process of interpreting philosophical categories, we recognized that these six educators were decidedly different from the other professors in the study in terms of their espoused philosophy. Starting from the assumption that philosophical orientation influences teaching practice, we began asking a series of questions of the data. For instance, how are their particular assumptions about society and about teaching and learning acted upon? If transformation is so crucial to these instructors, how do they promote it? What do they actually do in the classroom that is different from other professors? What are their concerns? Through repeated interrogation of the transcripts, pieces of text emerged that were common across the six participants. Several themes developed as we attempted to make sense of these commonalties. Each textual unit was then reviewed again in the context of the original sentence and paragraph in order to interpret if the intended meaning contributed accurately to the emerging whole. The analysis process could be described in this way:

> The meaning of the part is only understood within the context of the whole; but the whole is never given unless through an understanding of the parts. Understanding therefore requires a circular movement from parts to whole and from whole to parts. (Gallagher, 1992, p. 59)

We found ourselves in a hermeneutical circle! As each new part was compared to a growing whole, the whole became something new. Through hunches and dialogue, we constantly revised the emerging themes and every interpretation involved a recasting of meaning. Embedded within the themes, a pedagogical process seemed to emerge.

---

* Invitational letters were sent to a list generated by reputation and ads soliciting volunteers were placed in the campus faculty newspaper.

Findings: The Pedagogical Process

These professors seem to engage in a pedagogical process which has three major, interrelated elements: (1) a critical worldview, (2) a process of transformation, and (3) a transformative intent.

A Critical Worldview

Starting from a personally and theoretically based worldview, feminist and critical pedagogues clearly articulate their assumptions about the world and about education. Their espoused philosophy drives their choices regarding process, content and classroom structure and orients them to emancipatory action.

Influenced by the critical social sciences, critical pedagogy examines and challenges existing power structures. Critical pedagogues assume that there is a link between knowledge, language and power. They believe that the dominant culture constructs hegemonic views which become taken-for-granted (Grundy, 1987; McLaren, 1989; Shor & Freire, 1987). One critical instructor assumes that we live in an "inequitable society" in which the distribution of power is based on class, race and gender; the other believes that "students have been socialized to absorb unquestioned oppressive notions." Both of these instructors provide a forum for students to examine their taken-for-granted assumptions and "critically reflect on society's messages." Critical educators assert that teaching and learning should be a catalyst for fundamental social change and personal/social transformation (Grundy, 1987; McLaren, 1989; Shor & Freire, 1987). The study's adult education instructor feels that the political nature of education is epitomized within his own profession where the "classroom is the site of the struggle." The family studies professor envisions that changed interactions with children will contribute to social change.

Feminist pedagogy draws on critical pedagogy as well as concepts from the women's movement. While an analysis of power also characterizes feminist teaching, feminists are unique in their attention to gender as an historical basis for inequality and oppression (Briskin, 1990). Feminist professors are concerned about changing "structures of thought" and "existing beliefs." For them, it is important that "risky" content covering such areas as racism, sexism and homophobia be "negotiated" to challenge "received wisdom" and promote critique. They aim for "awareness" or "consciousness-raising" that has future effects in thought and action. True to the action orientation of the women's movement, these participants report "political work" both within and beyond the classroom which is intended to "disrupt the power dynamics" within the institution. They believe it is the "responsibility of feminists" that "political commitment is built into intellectual practice and the pursuit of knowledge." For example, one professor has been a visible and vocal advocate regarding sexual harassment on campus while another uses writing and presenting as tools to promote awareness and critique.

Particularly integral to their mode of teaching are the feminist and critical educators' assumptions about the roles of teacher and learner. Knowing that the teacher/student relationship is imbued with the same power dynamics which are observable in the rest of society, these teachers acknowledge their institutionalized authority. One professor admits: "I take authority for granted; I am the teacher." While they recognize these authoritative influences, they also challenge them. There is a profound respect for the student's experience and ability. One professor flatly stated "I am not the expert," while another views "the learner as the authority on their life." Simultaneously holding a belief in the student as an "active agent" and a recognition of their own skills, they reject the traditional notion of teacher as expert and instead view themselves as "co-learners" with additional resources and search for "various ways to break down the barriers between students and teachers without abdicating the responsibility of the professor."

A Process of Transformation

The methods and strategies employed by these professors include: (1) a consciousness-raising process, (2) power issues as content, and (3) the structuring of a critical classroom. Their teaching choices reflect both commitment and constraint.

(1) A consciousness-raising process: Professors repeatedly identify a number of interactive process elements which seem vital to the educational endeavour as they envision it. Dialogue is actively encouraged in various forms including argument or debate. Promoting dialogue requires conscious attempts to "equalize the power" in the classroom and provide small group experiences. Instructors who teach large classrooms particularly lament the lack of opportunity for dialogue between students. Dialogue, journal writing and reflective papers are used to promote critical reflection. "I teach them throughout the class to identify,...analyze and critique [their] values, beliefs and assumptions." Students are asked to "pause and rethink" while professors "raise problems...[in] received wisdom," and "yank at their assumptions." This "uncomfortable kind of questioning" is explicitly intended to "destabilize people's perspectives." There is an underlying assumption that "conflict and struggle" are important in the process of transformation. This implies an engagement with the learning process that "moves beyond academic analysis" to "connect the emotional and the intellectual." During this process, students may be "bothered," overwhelmed or angry. Students may display resistance to the non-traditional, critical approach as well as to the content. One professor suggests that a full year is required to "synthesize" the feelings and information generated.

(2) Power issues as content: In both the feminist and critical classrooms, content centres on a critical analysis of the power relations of race, gender and sexuality. "One of the things I try to do is make power a theme." Students "read literature about oppression," such as Killers of the Dream (by Lillian Smith), or fiction that "doesn't let you off the hook," such as Jane Eyre. The adult education instructor who teaches "multiple perspectives," hopes that his students will "leave with a sense that these different pedagogical styles are always implicated with power." The professor of a large introductory sociology course hopes that her lectures which introduce a "critical perspective" to the work of the traditional theorists will reveal the hidden assumptions behind the theories. To aid in processing such content, these professors sometimes "take more time with a smaller amount of material" and supplement with seminars wherever possible. Societal power dynamics are specifically exemplified through the conscious "thematization" and critique of the power and authority implicit in the relationship between professor and student. Seating arrangements and discussion methods are problematized and reflect a decentering of authority or an attempt to "lessen the power differences between us." For example, one instructor places the desks in a

complete circle and invites a quick "gut response" to the text from everyone in turn before proceeding to general discussion.

Evaluation and grading are viewed as particularly problematic and, again, thematized as power issues. While conscious of the undeniable authority invested in the evaluative process, instructors use many and varied means to cope with this contradiction. In general, there is an attempt to decrease competition and enhance choice-making. Most involve the students in generating exam questions or offer choices in essay topics. The instructor's evaluation is sometimes "tempered" with self and/or peer evaluation. Most attempt to stimulate critical thinking and personal engagement through both graded and non-graded assignments. One professor encourages the students to write drafts for supportive feedback before grading. Journals are encouraged but not graded or not read. One professor includes an expectation of "passion, voice and commitment" in the written work and another assigns a "personal reflections paper" to encourage analysis of the student's experience. The professor who is required to use multiple choice exams in a class of 200 expresses her skepticism and hopes to evaluate in more depth those students who move on to smaller, senior classes.

(3) Structuring a critical classroom: A combination of traditional and alternative structures characterizes the critical and feminist classroom environment. Most of these instructors are aware that students have been socialized to expect the teacher to provide the structure and authority in the classroom. When the teacher does not assume this role, students are often distressed or annoyed. Therefore, all provide some structure and initiation but "ease them into" tolerating less structure. Because the feminist and critical pedagogues tend to "have a fundamental belief in risk," they structure their classrooms in ways that promote risk-taking. The most profound example of this is their own willingness to "be brave," to model vulnerability through their choice of "risky material" that explores "contentious issues," their engagement with confrontation, conflict and resistance, and their openly self-reflective approach. "Teaching is a means for clarifying my own thoughts; I try to make that transparent to students." Some admit to "flying by the seat of my pants" and one reveals that "I trust in intuition...I work with my heart."

But professors pay a price for structuring their classrooms in this manner. They must continually "negotiate the resistance" even in classrooms with "like-minded" students. Angry, attacking behaviour must not be personalized but "named." The constant confrontation of contradictions and open "self-consciousness" may result in fatigue or isolation. "It is quite daunting, in many ways, to try and deal with this kind of material in a reflexive way when dealing with it may imply that you actually are caught in a contradiction all the time." Yet, their commitment "creates its own energy" and makes "the system change."

Although they clearly value and promote a certain level of discomfort, these professors are also aware that "students have to feel safe to be candid." They are all committed to "find ethical ways of dealing with each other around issues that are really highly contentious sometimes." They speak of trust, respect, validation, empathy and safety. Their "comments are...supportive and affirming," they "remain sensitive to individual students" and ensure that "no one has to speak."

Likewise, they wish to promote a "sense of groupness" and a "shared experience."

Transformative Intent

Critical and feminist educators hope to "facilitate critical enlightenment" or "enable...transformation within the group." For them, this means that students "will see the way that structures of thought and exclusion work" and "make those applications to their own histories." They realize that "ideological change" reflects integration and synthesis of information and insight. They anticipate a sense of renewed energy, an effect on self and family and a desire for "moving on" and "social change." However, most understand that they cannot control the student's process of change; "every student has their own answers, their own timing... and I can't predict when that will be." Another concedes: "It's naive to think that all people are transformed; some people are not going to change."

Summary and Conclusions

For the feminist and critical educators in this study, power is the crux of a philosophy-in-action. That is, while they espouse philosophical views about the unequal distribution of power in society, these professors simultaneously act upon this through their awareness, problematization and critique of the power structures within the educational institution. They hold assumptions about the interplay between knowledge and power which challenge traditional views about the teacher/student relationship. While recognizing their own explicit and implicit authority, they also value the expertness and autonomy of learners. They use their classroom authority to establish process, content and structural elements which promote disequilibrium so that students begin to challenge their existing hegemonic belief systems. The transformative intent is ultimately political.

These instructors are keenly aware of the perilousness of their position within the classroom and the institution due to their risky approaches. They face consequences for the practice of their pedagogy such as isolation, labelling, resistance and personal fatigue. Yet their commitment sustains them in the struggle. They feel a responsibility to practice their philosophy and pursue emancipatory ideals within the academy. This is the power of their praxis.

References

Briskin, Linda. (1990). Feminist pedagogy: Teaching and learning liberation. Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women.

Briskin, Linda & Coulter, Rebecca Priegert. (1992). Feminist pedagogy: Challenging the normative. Canadian Journal of Education, 17(3), 247-263.

Gallagher, Shaun. (1992). Hermeneutics and education. New York: SUNY.

Grundy, Shirley. (1987). Curriculum: Product or praxis. Philedelphia: Falmer.

Hodgkinson, C. (1991). Educational leadership: The moral art. Albany: SUNY.

Lather, Patti. (1991). Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern. New York: Routledge.

McLaren, Peter. (1989). Life in schools: An introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundations of education. Toronto: Irwin.

Shor, Ira & Freire, Paulo. (1987). What is the "dialogical method" of teaching? Journal of Education, 169 (3), 11-31.

NEW PROSPECTS FOR PROGRAM PLANNING AND EVALUATION IN ADULT CONTINUING EDUCATION[1]

Michael Collins
University of Saskatchewan

Abstract/Abstrait. There is a better way to approach program planning and evaluation than that which now predominates within modern adult education practice. This alternative approach entails giving up the current obsession with methods, models, and techniques in favor of "putting ourselves into practice."

La plannification des programmes dans le cadre de l'éducation des adultes peut se faire d'une façon améliorée de ce qu'on y trouve maintenant.

INTRODUCTION

Program planning and evaluation is a major area of concern within the modern practice of adult education. It features prominently, in some form or another, as a subject of study in most academic departments of adult and continuing education. For the most part, program planning and evaluation in adult education focuses upon pedagogical practices in institutionalized settings. However, it does acknowledge the significance of learning that takes place in community-based and alternative, less formalized contexts. This acknowledgment of learning in non-formal settings and alternative pedagogical arrangements is in keeping with the discourse of modern adult education practice[2] which shapes program planning and evaluation. The notion is that adult education principles can be brought to bear in program planning and evaluation across a wide spectrum of educational contexts which vary considerably in terms of structure, location, participants involved, mission, and pedagogical context. Modern adult education practice has staked out for itself a large terrain for the development of professionalized expertise.

CONVENTIONAL APPROACHES AND THE FUNCTIONALIST TECHNICAL PARADIGM

To a large extent, program planning and evaluation within modern adult education practice has been envisaged as two separate entities. you develop and implement the program, then you evaluate it. And it is advisable to complete a formal needs assessment before you get into development and implementation. This tendency to separate activities in a very clear-cut way exemplifies the functionalist orientation which shapes modern adult education practice as well as conventional schooling.

Program planning and evaluation in adult education has relied heavily on psychology, behaviorism in particular, as its guiding discipline. In this regard, program planning and evaluation tends to incorporate the techniques and perspectives of that kind of educational psychology which claims to pattern itself on the natural sciences. This psychologistic orientation is very functional because it insists on a reassuring degree of control over the program planning and evaluation process. It paves the way for the deployment of authoritative models, prescriptive statements of what is to be done, and in what order they are to be done. The widespread adoption of a psychologistic orientation has legitimized program planning and evaluation, most recently under the umbrella of human resource development, as a field of professionalized practice for designated experts. And these experts have access to a whole array of "scientific" pedagogical techniques.

The psychologistic approach to program planning and evaluation is well entrenched as a feature of modern adult education practice in North America. Psychologism delimits our efforts to understand human action, and hence learning processes, for the sake of efficient explanation. While psychologism defines a very flawed notion of what constitutes science, it is clearly discernible in the discourse on program planning and evaluation in countries such as Australia and Britain, which draw on the North American experience. In Australia and Britain, for example, a somewhat stronger inclination than in North America towards philosophical and sociological interpretations has not offset the effects of psychologism, and the functionalist paradigm, on contemporary adult education practices. One is no longer surprised to encounter reports about technocratic pedagogical strategies such as competency-based learning, formal needs' assessment blueprints, learning contracts, and self-directed learning readiness scales in mainstream adult education texts of countries other than the United States where they originated.

The literature of program planning and evaluation, like that of modern adult education as a whole, is very much influenced by humanistic psychology as well as behaviorism. And the former serves the purposes of the latter in that the emphasis is on the individual learner who becomes a candidate for the laying on of pedagogical techniques. The advocates of quite prescriptive curriculum formats readily espouse the concerns of humanistic psychology. Further, humanistic psychology as deployed in modern adult education practice neglects the significance of social context in its pre-occupation with individual development. This tendency is reflected in conventional approaches to program planning and evaluation.

The uneasy marriage between behaviorism and humanistic psychology serves to reinforce the individualistic and individualizing initiatives which characterize the program planning and evaluation process in adult education. Individuals are to be empowered, their deficiencies addressed, so that they are better able to compete in today's "global economy." Little is done within conventional programmatic formats to address the fragmenting effects of modern life on the learning processes beyond, perhaps, plugging in some life-skills training. For the losers--real and potential--who fail to acquire the necessary "competitive edge", a relevant programmatic response would be to recommend "coping skills".

Within the discourse of conventional program planning and evaluation, the concerns of humanistic psychology have become pscyhologized. They are conveniently packaged into the categories of serialized pedagogical formats. The medium is technocratic. And the medium is the message.[3]

FROM THE TECHNOCRATIC TO THE PRACTICAL

Within modern adult education practice, however, a slight but significant concern about the way program planning and evaluation is being overly determined by technocratic criteria has led to an interest in alternative approaches. There is a growing realization that models of program planning and evaluation based on a pre-occupation with aping the natural sciences inevitably excludes important practical and ethical considerations from the development and assessment of educational processes.[4] Practical questions about what is useful and feasible, and ethical questions about what is worthwhile, refer to qualitative aspects of education and training that are not easily consigned to pre-ordained categories or readily amenable to measurement. Clearly, an approach to program planning and evaluation that addresses qualitative aspects of education cannot fit comfortably within the functionalist paradigm. Unfortunately, much of the so-called "qualitative approach" falls between paradigms. The approach still manages to carry the functionalist (psychologistic) baggage.

The focus on phenomenological investigations and hermeneutics has highlighted the theoretical grounds on which practical alternatives to the psychologism of modern adult education practice can be advanced. For example, a phenomenologically-based theory of action can be invoked to demonstrate the artificiality and potential coerciveness of standardizing models (Collins, 1987). Phenomenological perspectives and the interpretive endeavours of hermeneutics emphasize the importance of deriving *meaning in context*. This insight places onus on adult educators themselves to design and evaluate, together with their students, educational programs that relate to the immediate situation and needs of people in that situation. It is the educational needs of the immediate context which determine what accessible pedagogical materials and strategies are to be brought in from outside. The role of the educator, relationships between educator(s) and students, and the nature of program planning and evaluation are, thus, quite different to that envisaged from the standpoint of functionalist educational design.

While bringing into question the appropriateness of the natural science model for determining and assessing educational practice, phenomenological investigations and the level of interpretation associated with hermeneutics call for careful, systematic analysis and the provision of evidence. Hence, phenomenology and hermeneutics, representing the human or interpretative sciences within the more recent academic discourse of adult education, provide the theoretical justification for practical approaches to program planning and evaluation which emphasize qualitative considerations about what is worthwhile over the pre-occupation with efficiency of technocratic approaches.

With the recent slight turn towards critical discourses in modern adult education, the shortcomings and coerciveness of the functionalist paradigm become even more apparent. While sharp debates are engaged between and among critical theorists, advocates of postmodernist thought, and feminist scholars, the overall message for adult education from these critical discourses is the same. The androgogical consensus, within which notions of program planning and evaluation are presently construed, does not serve the interests of ordinary men and women. Instead it points us to the unrealizable aspirations of modern adult education practice for professionalized status.

Educational practice informed by a paradigm based on human action (sometimes referred to as the "naturalistic paradigm") has the potential to demystify spurious domains of expertise such as program planning and evaluation and the pedagogical techniques they sustain. At the level of needs assessment, for example, a practical orientation entails simply asking people what they need. Christian Bay describes the practical task in the following terms:

> The task is not to make decisions about what most people need at a variance with what they say they need, but to activate public discussion about what is needed; the task is to activate ourselves and one another in continuing discussions of our values and their policy implications. (Bay, 1981)

From a practically oriented approach, which involves participants in discussion about the nature of their learning, a clear-cut distinction between needs assessments and program development becomes artificial and dysfunctional. The hiatus between the two, which might seem to serve the professionalized interests of the educator, has a tendency to frustrate meaningful discussion on the question of needs. Where this formal separation prevails, it can be made deliberately problematic as a means for encouraging students and teachers to reflect carefully about the reasons for the positivistic categorization of needs assessment, program development, and evaluation. This approach should lead to the clarification of how the models and ritualistic paraphernalia of a natural science paradigm serve institutionalized interests. Yet, at the same time, it confirms that people have the competence to come to a practical agreement about educational needs, taking into account the effects of institutionalized strategic interests, without formal direction from experts.

The realization that people already have the competence to discuss educational needs in a rational way, and that they have the ability to participate in the design of their own educational programs, is not out of line with the conventional discourse of modern adult education. Adults can learn. And adults can plan their learning.

So it is all right to let go of the standardized methods and techniques, and the talk about "facilitating adult learning". Adult educators will still be needed if only because the practical task of teaching and learning is so devilishly difficult. It may be helpful to dispense with the weasel term "facilitator" (and its gerundive form - "facilitating") which has replaced the terms 'educator' and 'teacher' in the conventional parlance of modern adult education practice. An impression is conveyed that "facilitators", with appropriate methods and techniques at their disposal, are not expected to make judgments, to inspire, to create, and to teach. But in view of the continuing obsession with technique and method, the practical dimension of participatory democracy in any formal learning context will have to be *taught* and *retaught*, and *learned* and *relearned*.

A decision to push aside the plethora of techniques and models in favour of practical participatory approaches means working between paradigms. But the risk entailed is not that unreasonable. The realization of a more participatory approach in learning situations in most settings--the schools, hospitals, and prisons, as well as the workplaces--does not serve to undermine fundamental institutionalized interests. What actually occurs is that learners and teachers in participatory learning processes get a more critical understanding of the nature of their own learning, the matrix of power relationships within which their learning takes place, and their roles within the institution. Teachers, in particular, gain a more acute sense of whose interests they are serving, and to what extent.

Overall, though, the challenge to technocratic educational programming and the emergence of participatory approaches, especially those linked to theories of human action, can be viewed as a slight move in the direction of a more emancipatory pedagogy. But "facilitators" of reflective practice (which is associated with alternative approaches to formal education in the workplace), should be clear about how their work is systematically incorporated within wider management-oriented strategies. There is a tendency for critically disposed educators to exaggerate the emancipatory potential of the discourse around reflective practice.

PUTTING OURSELVES INTO PRACTICE AND PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES.

The overall guiding question for adult educators is of an ethical-political nature. It is about "What should we do here?" ("What is our role?") given the progressive principles we are supposed to espouse. This orientation calls for *care-ful* practice which deals with contradictions (hard realities which run counter to espoused principles), conflicting interests, relationships of power, and instances of oppression rather than accepting them in a taken-for-granted way. Such an orientation to practice precludes a technocratic approach to program development and evaluation which begins with a concern for how effectively a particular planning model can be deployed in a given situation. It is important for adult educators to resist the deployment of pedagogical strategies which impoverish their own work. In this way adult educators signal their views about the stake other people have in their own education and in the work they undertake.

A strong focus on the role of the adult educator and the relegation of methodology are not intended to do away with recourse to established methods and materials prepared outside of the immediate educational context. The point to be emphasized is that methodology and standardized materials should not be allowed to define the educational context. When identified to meet contextually determined needs, however, they can be relevantly incorporated without dominating the learning processes and the nature of participation. The process as a whole should not begin with the deployment of _a_ method and _a_ particular standardized package of materials.

The toppling of method as a fetish in program planning and evaluation, and within modern adult education as a whole, places more responsibility on the adult educator. It makes the role more difficult, envisaging a vocational practice that requires ongoing assessment and re-assessment. Careful reflection on the educational process calls for a pre-disposition to *create* strategies, a willingness to *modify* them when appropriate, and the *courage* to identify where they are going wrong. The approach is theoretical but it is not the result of first learning about a theory from a textbook or in the classroom, and then putting it into practice. (Some academic adult educators still talk about "putting theory into practice" as though properly qualified practitioners carried around theoretical tool-boxes from which to draw on appropriate occasions.) Rather, the committed adult educator engages with theoretical work on a continuing basis and puts herself or himself into practice.

CONCLUSION

Adult educators have an important role to play in creating educational contexts which counter the deadening effects of technocratic pedagogy. The bureaucratic corporate business style approach to program planning and evaluation in modern adult education practice, especially as exemplified in

9

such over-arching curriculum formats as competency based education and the authoritative discourse of human resource development, may seem all pervasive. But it is not monolithic, simply because an educational enterprise steered by technical rationality meets neither the practical interests of ordinary men and women nor the irrepressible aspirations for an emancipatory practice of adult education.

The good news is that we can find ways within the adult education tradition for creating contexts where these practical interests and aspirations are sustained. We can still look for guidance and inspiration to the study circles, to the problem-posing pedagogy of Paulo Freire, to participatory research projects and popular education, and to the experience of the folk schools. It is not being suggested that these approaches should be enthroned as providing *the methods* for a systematic reconstruction of program planning and evaluation. Yet they do contain within them the seeds of a creative pedagogy for today's society. Carefully planned educational experiences emerging, in their initial phase, from the creative impulse are not bounded by narrowly defined behavioral objectives. Rather, they hold out prospects for continuing improvement through critical reflection by participants on the meaning of their collective and individual learning endeavors.

Notes

1. This paper is an abbreviated and significantly modified version of a longer essay. See M. Collins, "Putting Ourselves Into Practice: New Prospects for Programme Planning and Evaluation." In M. Brown et al. (eds), Program Development and Evaluation: Critical Curriculum for the Workplace. Geelong, Australia: Deakin University Press (In Press, 1993).

2. The text which best exemplifies this discourse is still The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Androgogy by Malcolm Knowles (New York: Cambridge, 1980).

3. The metaphor seems particularly apt here. It is derived from M. McLuhan, The Medium is the Message. New York: Bantam Books, 1967.

4. See, for example R. Cervero and A. Wilson. "Perspectives on Program Planning in Adult Education" (University of Oklahoma AERC Proceedings, 1991, pp. 39-48 and "The Centrality of Negotiating Interests in Adult Education Program Planning Practice" (University of Saskatchewan, AERC Proceedings, 1992, pp. 24-30). Also see M. Collins, "Addressing Needs, Program Planning and Evaluation." Adult Education as Vocation: A Critical Role for the Adult Educator (Routledge: London & New York, 1991).

References

Bay, C. (1981). Strategies for Political Emancipation. University of Notre Dame Press, p. 93.

Collins, M. (1987). Competence in Adult Education. (Lanham, MD & London: University Press of America).

LINKING ADULT EDUCATION WITH K-12: A COMMUNITY EDUCATION INITIATIVE ON A SASKATCHEWAN INDIAN RESERVE

Michael Collins, University of Saskatchewan
Jody Hanson, Lac La Ronge

Abstract/Abstrait. Adult education has an important role to play in connecting the schools to community education on Indian reserves. However, a critical perspective should be taken on current ideas about multicultural education and modern adult education practice for First Nations People.

L'éducation des adultes joue un rôle dans la connection des écoles à l'éducation de la communauté sur les 'réserves indiens'. Il nous faut une perspective critique à propos des idées courantes de l'éducation multculturelle et l'éducation des adultes pour les Amerindiens.

> It was becoming increasingly apparent [by 1981] to Indian, Metis and Non-Status, political and community organizations that the government was not going to provide complete solutions to the socially and culturally damaging situation of high rates of unemployment and dependency on transfer payments, [and] the continuing erosion of the political economy on the poverty level incomes. (Crofford, 1990)

Invitation: In response to an invitation from the La Ronge Band Council, the project was conceptualized as an experiment to strengthen the connections between the band's schools and their respective communities through an adult education initiative which focused, particularly, on the needs of young adults.

Perspective: Our paper is written from the perspective of a newly emerging critical practice of adult education. We are refering here to recent critical discourses from *within* the modern practice of adult education which are informed by critical theory postmodernist thought, and feminist scholarship. These critical discourses have been helpful in revealing how modern adult education practice, shaped by an ideology of technique, works to sustain existing power relationships within today's society. Critical adult education has still to identify systematically the kind of pedagogical strategies through which its insightful analyses can be confidently enacted in practice. Yet, in the context of education for First Nations' People, a critical perspective on adult education is relevant because it draws attention to the way seemingly progressive educational initiatives can serve to reinforce existing inequalities as well as to provide potential for counter-hegemonic community development. We are committed to the notion that adult education can play a significant role in the regeneration of deeply fractured Native communities only if adult education practice is informed by *careful* critical perspectives.

The Context: The historical, socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions in which schooling for Native Canadians is enacted have been extensively described, especially in the burgeoning literature on (under-) development at the periphery. For the purposes of this proceedings paper we cannot rehearse all the important arguments emanating from that body of literature. Instead, we will refer directly to two fairly recent essays which are of immediate relevance to a critical understanding about the educational provision for Native peoples in Saskatchewan.

Joanne Crofford's (1990) paper on "Northern and Rural Community Economic Development: Fitting In or Stepping Out?" is instructive for us because it focuses on conditions in the La Ronge region where the band-controlled K-12/adult education initiative with which we are involved is under way. Crofford describes the effects on community development of government policy interventions--and purposeful withdrawals of support--in recent years, and of local efforts to respond in a positive way. What we glean from Crofford's paper, however, is the way claw-backs in support for public services, including education, has coincided with the emergence of band-controlled schooling in the region.

> In 1981, the training capacity of northern training institutions at the technical and post secondary level was 250 persons a year. This was projected to increase to 500 a year by 1982. This was not even enough to keep up with current demand never mind deal with the huge backlog of training needs. (Crofford, p. 1)

Without getting into the issue of how "training needs" are determined, the trend Crofford describes does not augur well for young Native people who want to stay in the North, or for those who will be leaving in increasing numbers for Southern cities during the next decade or so. The situation with regard to the provision of post-secondary education has worsened since 1981.

In another study on the educational provision for Native people in Saskatchewan, Rick Hesch (1989) examined the contradictions in Native Teacher Education. He described how a "fascination with small, measurable, skills" distorts learning processes and the intent of the internship program he examined. Hesch views this distorting tendency as a reproduction of inappropriate methodology at work in mainstream College of Education programs. The narrow focus on precision--tests and measurement, behavioral objectives, and mechanistic lesson plan formats--forecloses on the creative pedagogical potentiality which has to be released in the development of seriously fractured communities.

There is a gleam of hope in Hesch's study. He reports on the "formation of group solidarity" within the program which he views as "an affirmation of non-hierarchical relationships between faculty and students" and a basis for "the development of critical consciousness" (Hesch, p. 9). These optimistic observations, however, are qualified in his concluding remarks:

> Without a systematic, thorough, and public critique within the program of the ways in which schooling provides for structural and cultural reproduction of capitalist social relations, group solidarity may only serve to develop a community of indigenous professionals increasingly distant from their social roots. (Hesch, p. 10)

On the reserves, and in other Northern communities, Native and non-Native teachers constitute a significant proportion of the lower middle-class. Some are unbelievably complacent while others are admirably committed to their vocation. It is from among the latter, along with their supporters from other leaders in the communities, that the impetus for progressive educational initiatives emerge.

Linking K-12 and Adult Education

In the powerful wake of the neo-conservative ascendancy and the current economic crisis, severe cut-backs in education seem to be the order of the day. During the past decade, gains made during the 1960's and early 1970's have been rolled back and this trend has implications for Native Canadians. The situation is worsened by the fact that Liberal and NDP administrations have accommodated to the retrenchment rationale and are supporting the assaults on education. Accordingly, an appropriate counter-hegemonic strategy (and we are not overplaying the "counter-hegemonic") around education for Native Canadians in these times is to protect gains that have been made and to work for more resources. These resources are needed to increase access to mainstream formal education at all levels, to provide relevant options in the form of non-traditional education, to strengthen the focus on conventional educational achievement (in writing, reading, numeracy, and the arts), and to improve the quality of teachers through recruitment, better teacher training for Native Canadians, and continuing education. Our rationale is that there is a lot of catching up still to be done in regard to the provision of education for Native Canadians. This is the time to be demanding more rather than passively accepting the effects of retrenchment policies in education. In our estimation it is critically important at this time to strengthen the commitment to education within Native communities. The overall purpose, then, is to up-the-ante in a struggle to improve the educational options for young Native people and adults.

The project we are involved in is guided by the above objectives. However, it was understood from the outset that progress would be uneven. (Apathy and reactionary vested interests are not suddenly 'romanced' away by the incorporation of an adult education initiative into community development.) The initiative combines the conventional K-12 system with non-traditional adult education approaches in three reserve schools, at quite different locations (La Ronge, Grandmother's Bay, and Stanley Mission). There is substantial support for the initiative in each of the schools which are already designated as "community schools". An understanding that the schools are accessible to the community offers obvious advantages. It was also readily understood from the outset that the articulation of K-12 with adult education is about community development.

The initial impetus for the project emerged from the needs of young adults (mainly teenagers) who wanted to continue their formal education after having dropped out of school for a period of time. We were well placed to assist, having already been involved in advising teachers who wished to incorporate adult education approaches for "returning young adults" in Athabasca Basin communities. In the case of La Ronge, we had an opportunity to widen the scope of the project around the "returning young adults" phenomenon.

The project task group is headed by a prominent member of the band who is very much committed to the idea that education is crucial for worthwhile community development. He wants to ensure that accessibility to formal education at all levels is improved for members of the band, and he recognizes the merits--political as well as pedagogical--of making available programs from non-traditional educational institutions. Since the project began, he has been appointed Chair of the newly created Education Portfolio within the band council, and he is intent on representing the interests of parents who want their children to learn to read and write. In promoting adult education, he is smart enough to let each of the schools involved in the project follow their own enthusiasms. The school in La Ronge is most concerned with pushing the GED diploma (Grade 12 equivalency) and the acquisition of formal entrance requirements for post-secondary education and the trades. At Stanley Mission, the emphasis has been on literacy at all levels, the "academics", and art, and on improving knowledge of world events beyond the reserve. At Grandmother's Bay, the focus is on integrating school and community with an additional emphasis on preparing young people to deal with the outside world. Representatives from each of the centres want to exert an influence on Aboriginal teacher education and the continuing education of teachers already in service.

The advantages of linking adult education with the schools are well understood within the task group. Our perspective has had a marked influence in this regard since we both have experience as school teachers and adult educators in a variety of cross-cultural, urban, and rural settings. Like a growing number of adult educators, we are opposed to the deployment of pedagogical techniques associated with the functionalist paradigm governing contemporary adult education practice, and the professionalizing tendency which is intended to distinguish it from conventional schooling. In any event, the next task for the adult education component is to incorporate discussions on critical issues such as racism, sexism, the environment and exploitation of resources, (under) employment, and the problems of governance.

Critical Commentaries

Some of the project's initial successes, the kind usually highlighted in conventional evaluation reports, are very encouraging. Extra funds from outside (ie. federal) sources are added to the budget when young adults return to school. A member of the band from one of the three communities involved in the project has been appointed to a newly created position of adult education coordinator. But we are realistic, and understand that what has been achieved can be quickly undermined. There is sullen opposition from a small minority of teachers (the "good old boys") whose interests are not served by upping-the-ante around education. They represent some of the negative tendencies Rick Hesch (1989) identified in his essay about Native teacher training. One can sympathize with this small minority (well, almost). Critical reflection and the will to overcome comfortable ways of working with students do not come easily. But the effort would be worthwhile because in the context of schooling for Native Canadians there is probably more opportunity than elsewhere to substitute creative practice for the pedestrian pedagogical strategies which stem from the functionalist paradigm.

For Native communities the inadequacy of pedagogical strategies associated with modern adult education practice (learning contracts, competency-based curriculum formats, human resource development, and formal needs assessment instruments) becomes starkly apparent. Further, the clear-cut distinction between conventional schooling and adult education, a central feature of the *andragogy* profession, is more easily recognizable as a dysfunctional concept in the context of First Nations' community education.

Yet the challenge for a critically informed adult education practice in Native communities is formidable. The educational provision, whether controlled by the Band or Indian Affairs, plays a crucial role within existing arrangements for the social control of young Native Canadians. (Even where funds originally ear-marked for education are transferred to "other purposes".) Clearly, education for Native Canadians is falling far short in meeting the requirements of this role. The failure is apparent from the numbers of Native Canadians in Canadian prisons, the growing incidence of runaways among juveniles, violence against people and property, alcohol and drug abuse, suicides, and so on. There is real concern about the failure of schooling for Canadian Indians to fulfill its accommodative assignment. This concern, underscored by the Oka incident, is accompanied by a growing realization within Native communities that their schools do not match up in terms of academic performance and in providing equitable access to jobs and further education. In these circumstances, it becomes possible to instigate educational initiatives which are potentially progressive in both rural and urban settings.

Much is made of the extent to which Eurocentric perspectives determine the character of schooling for Native Canadians. Samir Amin's (1989) study on Eurocentrism, in particular, provides a useful reference for critique of Aboriginal education along these lines. There are sound theoretical and political arguments for adult educators who are informed by a critical perspective to support an emphasis on Native culture within the curriculum as a counter-hegemonic strategy. At this juncture, efforts to recapture Native traditions and artifacts within the realm of Aboriginal education are important for confirming the collective identity of the community and strengthening self-respect in young people. However, it is equally important to ensure that the resurgence of Native traditions, and emphasis on them in the curriculum under the banner of multicultural education, do not obscure the need to acquire significant material and political gains for Aboriginal education. It should not escape our notice that sweat lodges have become a regular, officially sanctioned, feature of Canadian prisons. An uncritical pre-occupation with retrieving traditional customs can be readily incorporated into a system of surveillance and social control. Critical adult educators should be prepared to make this cautionary argument while acknowledging the relevance of a renewed emphasis on Native culture and showing deep appreciation for the joyful aspirations this trend embodies.

We should not be at all surprised at the way Eurocentrism determines the provision of modern schooling for Native Canadians. This tendency was on the cards from the early days of contact with the Europeans when the newcomers, as agents for mercantile and advanced capitalism, undermined the traditional learning processes and structures in existing Indian communities. The newly created communities for Native people were fractured from the start.

In Britain and other European countries from which the early contacts came, liberal progressives ensured that compulsory state funded provision of education for ordinary people was designed to meet the needs of a capitalist political economy. The point we wish to make here is that there is a common universal element in the struggle around which interests control the education of ordinary men, women, and children. In this regard, while the Eurocentric and cultural renewal arguments should be played for all they are worth on behalf of Native Canadians, they should not be overplayed. There is a limit to which the focus on sweet grass, sweat lodges, and the "Sacred Circle" will advance the educational and training needs of Native Canadians in the modern world. Within the functionalist paradigm which shapes modern schooling everywhere, care has to be taken to ensure that the cultural emphasis does not lapse into a pedestrian, and time-consuming, pre-packaged add-on to the conventional curriculum.

Conclusion: In the situation we have described adult education as an approach to community development entails critical understanding of what is at stake, engagement, and struggle. A modern practice of adult education which evades these requirements, concerning itself instead with the delivery of pre-packaged programs and "coping skills", will only be experienced as more of the same--schooling for adults. In which case, it matters little whether the packages and the coping strategies come dressed up in the professionalized jargon of andragogy and multicultural education.

With respect to Native Canadians the predicament of fractured communities is a critical problem for mainstream society as well as for First Nations' People. In Saskatchewan, where young Native adults constitute over half our future, the issue is acutely critical. In these circumstances we now envision adult education not only as a link between school and community but also as *the meeting place* between Native and non-Native people.

References

Amin, S. (1989). Eurocentrism. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Crofford, J. (1990). "Northern and Rural Community Economic Development: Fitting In or Stepping Out?" Socialist Studies Proceedings. University of Victoria, B.C.: Learned Societies Meetings.

Hesch, R. (1989). "Contradictions in Native Teacher Education Internship." Society for Socialist Studies Proceedings. Quebec City: Laval: Learned Societies Meetings.

Community Development: An Approach for University Extension Practice

Jane Cruikshank
University Extension
University of Regina

This paper discusses four community development programs that have been part of Canadian university extension work in the past. It looks at current extension practice and explores ways in which a community development approach can, once again, become part of extension work.

Ce travail traite des programmes de développement communautaire traditionnellement offerts dans le passé par les services d'éducation continue des universités canadiennes. Il examine la situation actuelle en matière d'éducation continue, et explore de nouvelles avenues dans lesquelles une approche communautaire pourrait, à nouveau, être une composante.

This paper builds on four years of research into the topic, "critical issues in university extension work." Using a grounded theory research approach and working from a social change perspective, I conducted taped interviews with a number of university extension staff in Canada. In all, I conducted 35 interviews from 1989 to 1991. Some participants were interviewed more than once. All approached extension work from a social change perspective. I asked two basic questions, "What critical issues do you experience in your everyday practice?" and "How do you attempt to deal with these issues?"

One issue that emerged focuses on the shift in university extension work from a social purpose vision to an entrepreneurial approach which reduces education to a commodity to be bought and sold in the marketplace. Most people I interviewed articulated a strong need for extension staff to work cooperatively with community groups to address social justice issues. This paper explores community development as an approach that should be renewed in university extension practice.

Definition of the term

The concept of community development has been surrounded by ambiguity and confusion (Baker, 1971; Lotz, 1976). Campfens (1979) believed that the confusion came from the "duality of the term" where some development workers have emphasized problem-solving approaches, using it as a means to an end, while others have pursued it as a goal or an end in itself.

While community development has been defined as a process, a method, a program and a movement (Sanders, 1970), one of the definitions I feel most comfortable with is reflected in Denis Goulet's writing. Goulet (1971) viewed development as "a complex series of interrelated change processes, abrupt and gradual, by which a population and all its components move away from patterns of life perceived in some significant way as 'less human' toward alternate patterns perceived as 'more human'" (p. x).

Importance of Adult Education in the Community Development Process

For many, adult education is the key to effective community development. Hamilton and Cunningham (1989) argued that "effective participation requires knowledge, skills, and understandings that can be learned" (p. 442). Roberts (1979) developed a model to describe the importance of education in the development process. He believed that if a group jumps from the tension stage to the action stage without going through the learning and objective setting stages, "what then happens is not community development but precipitate action which, without the intervening and sometimes long process of investigation and learning, commonly leads to unsatisfying outcomes" (p. 38).

Heaney and Horton (1990) reinforced Roberts' views. They suggested that "in the absence of adult education and the critical reflections it can foster, vision is likely to be limited and its outcomes short-lived" (p. 86). They believed that:

> Many of the noted "victories" of community groups organized by Saul Alinsky in the 1950s were destined to reinstitute the oppression they initially overcame, because people drawn to these organizations were never developed. They understood the immediate objectives of their struggle, but not the principles upon which it was based. (p. 86)

In short, action was the central focus of Alinsky's work. There was "no call for education or for producing community knowledge to counter hegemony" (Hamilton and Cunningham, 1989, p. 448).

Past University Involvement in Community Development Work

It is important for adult educators to have a historical understanding of the adult education field. Welton (1987) argued:

> If we do not grasp the continuities and discontinuities of past and present, we can easily be uncritically captive to oppressive ideologies and values of the present. Nor will we be able to penetrate to the heart of our society's central problems and contradictions. Consequently, we will not be able to frame a coherent vision of the social purposes of adult education for *our time*. (pp. 12-13).

Historically, Canadian universities have played a significant role in community development work. Four examples are discussed briefly.

Antigonish Movement

One of the major adult education programs in Canada was the Antigonish Movement, which was spearheaded by the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

Begun by Jimmy Tompkins after his banishment by the University to Canso in 1923, and then nurtured by Moses Coady, as Director of Extension, the Movement centered on the development of local study groups which would enable people to work together to analyze their needs and deal with their common problems (Landis, 1950), and was based on the philosophy that people could take control over their own lives.

The Movement was responsible for creating Co-operatives and Credit Unions and linking them with a system of educational support through the extension department. It used practical and inexpensive methods which included mass meetings, study clubs, leadership schools, short courses, radio listening groups and kitchen meetings (Coady, 1950).

The Antigonish Movement "pointed concretely to the role adult education could play in the individual and collective empowerment of the marginalized and oppressed" (Welton, 1987, p. 18). Welton added:

> There was nothing new, startling, or radical about the *methods* used by the Antigonish Movement. What was new was the development of a network that linked together individuals and groups with common goals, and provided them with access to the information and resources they needed. What St. Francis Xavier University, the educational mobilizing centre of the Movement, provided was a pedagogical method without predetermining what specific problems ought to be acted on: education for self-organization. (p. 18)

The Antigonish Movement began to decline in the 1940s. Jamieson (1985) felt that the cooperatives, once established, lost their cutting edge:

> Credit unions...looked at the balance sheet first and social change later, if at all. They hired managers who saw themselves as businessmen, not radical organizers. (p. 12)

Jamieson argued that the expanding post-war economy removed some of the dire economic circumstances which had prompted the Movement and it "acquired the look and demeanor of a social service agency" (p. 12). A similar criticism (Lovett, Clarke & Kilmurray, 1983) claimed that the Movement died with Coady in 1959, and that the university now remains "somewhat aloof from the continuing problems of poverty and injustice in its own region" (p. 6).

Farm Radio Forum

Farm Radio Forum was a program built around weekly radio broadcasts which were designed to stimulate rural development across the country. Sponsored jointly by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, and the CBC, it became a national program in the fall of 1941.

An interview with Alex Sim (March 1986, in Guelph, Ontario) who, as Director of Rural Adult Education at MacDonald College in Quebec, was involved in its initial development, yielded rich insights into the early experiments with this approach. While both the Danish Folk Schools and the Antigonish Movement had a major impact on the development of the program, the design was modified to meet the unique needs of rural communities in Quebec. As Mr. Sim stated:

> When I went to MacDonald College to work with the Anglophone communities, they were about 200 miles apart. There were no snowplows in those days. I had been told to organize study groups. I hitch hiked to Nova Scotia and spent time with the Antigonish people. I was encouraged to do what they had done at St. Francis Xavier. The only thing was that I didn't have a priest in every parish to do the work, so it was almost impossible to keep in touch with the groups. So then I started using radio.

Farm Radio Forum consisted of four specific techniques: radio broadcasts, printed study materials, discussion groups, and the reporting of discussion findings. Small groups met weekly throughout the country to listen to radio broadcasts covering a variety of topics relevant to the farming community. Each week focused on a specific pre-determined topic. Following each broadcast, the groups discussed the subject using printed study materials, and forwarded their discussion findings to their provincial Farm Radio Forum office. These findings were then compiled and the information aired on subsequent broadcasts, thus providing a vehicle through which groups could communicate with the provincial offices and with each other. Although the main emphasis seemed to be on the "discussion" portion, McKenzie (1950) believed that it was through such discussion and study that rural people were able to work together to solve their problems.

Alex Sim credited the success of the program to the fact that its organizers were rural people who were acutely aware of the problems encountered by farmers and who actively involved the farm community in the programming.

> It should be emphasized that Farm Radio Forum came to farm people at a time of crisis. The war had taken a serious turn. Farmers were being called upon to produce to the utmost. At the same time they were just emerging from severe depression and their sons and daughters were leaving for the armed forces and city jobs with regular pay. Farmers were depressed both spiritually and economically and they felt somewhat confused. Farm Radio Forum offered to throw some light on their problems. It gave them a chance to meet together to study their problems, and to make their voice heard. It offered a way of promoting farm unity and it revived the old neighbourliness of earlier days (McKenzie, 1950, p. 174).

It was out of Farm Radio Forum that numerous community projects were born. Among them were co-operative medical services, co-operative buying clubs and stores, rural electrification and community centres. The program continued for two decades and completed its final broadcast on March 29, 1965.

Center for Community Studies

The Center for Community Studies, based in Saskatoon, opened in July 1957 in response to the changing economic and social conditions within Saskatchewan.

Under the joint sponsorship of the Government of Saskatchewan and the University of Saskatchewan, the purpose of the Center was experimental and, as Baker (1957) noted, its "primary contribution (was) the accumulation and communication of tested knowledge about social change" (p. 224). This was accomplished through three distinct divisions within the Center: consulting, research and training.

The Consulting Division was composed of outside consultants who provided technical assistance in community development, functioned as information-communication linkages with the Centre and other projects, developed case studies of projects developed by these communities, and produced practical reference materials. The Research Division was oriented toward longer range studies of social change, and conducted studies focusing on problems encountered by Saskatchewan communities. The Training Division developed training material and provided a number of training activities for provincial government departments and non-government organizations.

The Center was unique in that no other country in the world had established such an organization to work in the field of grassroots social change (Baker, 1957). However, like many innovative projects, it soon ran into strong political opposition. Established under a CCF government, it continually encountered harassment from the opposition Liberal Party which threatened to reduce the Center's annual funding to $1.00 should they ever become elected. With the election of a Liberal government in 1964, this campaign promise was kept. The withdrawal of core funding spelled its eventual closure in 1968.

The Fogo Island Process

The Challenge for Change program was formed in 1969, as a program within the National Film Board, with a mandate to stimulate social change through the use of film. The main focus of the program centered on the production of film "designed to educate about poverty and social development and to stimulate attitude change" (MacNeill, 1969, p. 230), and the involvement of local people in the production of films to help them to identify their needs and work toward change by increasing problem-solving abilities at the community level (Draper, 1984). MacNeill (1969) explained:

> By working with the filmmaker, telling him [sic] what to shoot, what to edit, the persons concerned are directly involved in the communication process. (p. 230)

The Fogo Island films, developed in cooperation with Memorial University in Newfoundland, provide an example of this approach. Fogo Island, comprising 10 communities, had reached critical levels of unemployment at the time of the project. Concerns were expressed about the future. A number of experimental films, focusing on the people's perceptions of community problems and potential solutions, were produced with the involvement of the Islanders. These films were later replayed to them with a view toward raising their understanding of the community problems from a variety of viewpoints, gaining new insights toward change, and spurring the involvement of the people in community development activities (MacNeill, 1969).

The Fogo Island films earned international acclaim and were perceived to be a highly innovative and effective tool for stimulating social change.

Central Theme

The theme that emerges from these programs centers on collectivity. The programs were spawned in times of crisis. All focused on group learning and group problem-solving. People were encouraged to search for solutions through collective, not individualistic, processes. The organizers sought to increase people's access to information and resources and to develop linkages among groups.

Present State of University Extension Practice

Historically, community development work has been an integral part of university extension practice in Canada. However, as Selman (1991) said, while adult educators had some remarkable achievements in the past, at the present time, we do not seem to be responding creatively to current issues. He explained:

> One has only to mention a few events of the past twenty years in order to conjure up the nature of some of the issues we have faced: Quebec separatism, the constitutional debates, the repatriation of the Constitution and the writings of the

> Bill of Rights, the Free Trade debate, the Meech Lake Accord and the land claims of the First Nations people. Examining such a list simply brings to mind the almost complete absence of any creative response from the field of organized adult education...to the great events of our time in Canada. (pp. 139-140)

In the past, much of adult education focused on group learning. Today, university extension practice follows a smorgasbord approach. With cutbacks to universities, extension departments have been forced into a cost-recovery mode. As a direct result, we have gone from a position of helping groups develop collectivity to that of offering a variety of courses to individuals who can pay high fees.

Welton (1987) expressed dismay at current adult education practice. He said:

> Today Canadian adult education, with notable exceptions, is professionalized, becalmed, and technicized. Many of us are captive to ideologies of the individual learner. We lack a coherent understanding of the social purpose of adult education. We are fragmented along institutional lines. We see ourselves as professionals marketing programs and not as activists mobilizing people through dialogue. Consequently, we are in a very weak position to understand what role adult education can, and must, play in the resolution of our "structural binds." (pp. 29-30)

Today, the adult education field is divided into two camps: those who see adult education as a vehicle for social change and those who see it as a business in which education, designed for individuals, is bought and sold in the marketplace. Selman (1991) argued that, for the most part, the adult education field "is satisfied with providing services which are purchased (by employers, Manpower authorities, etc.) and otherwise to offer a 'cafeteria' selection of courses to the general public, to which they may respond as they see fit" (p. 140).

Concern has been raised by social activists who argue that, rather than being a vehicle for social justice, adult education has become a mechanism for maintaining the present power structure.

Role of Community Development in Extension Education

In times of economic crisis, community development programs have been instrumental in helping people to develop collective solutions to problems. The Antigonish Movement, Farm Radio Forum, and the Fogo Island Process are prime examples of this.

We are once again in a time of economic crisis. The smorgasbord approach to extension education is not working. Adult education in North America has its historical roots in "voluntarism, reflection and democratic action" (Heaney & Horton, 1990, p. 85). University extension departments must regain these principles. We should become more connected to social movements in our communities (Collins, 1991; Newson & Buchbinder, 1988), as people who can contribute to the educational part of the process. However, a user pay system is not workable. We must find other funding methods.

Adult education clearly plays a large role in the community development process. University extension departments can and should provide educational and research support to groups and organizations who are actively involved in community development work. Heyworth (1991) said, "the university can challenge social inequality and strive to play a liberating role in the education process. It can promote the development of a critical understanding of social problems, and of the possibilities for overcoming them" (p. 101).

Conclusion

In the past, universities have responded to crisis through their extension departments. Community development programs have played a major role during these times. Once again, communities are experiencing economic and social crisis. While it would be naive to suggest that university extension departments will become involved in social transformation work, at least within the near future, much can be accomplished within a community development framework.

Welton (1987) argued, "we, as a Canadian adult education community, need to recover the spirit of risk, boldness, and innovation expressed by our predecessors" (p. 31). As adult educators, we have an exciting history. It is time to renew our vision of university extension work and, once again, make a strong social contribution to the communities in which we live.

References

Baker, W. (1957). A centre for the study of community dynamics. In R. Kidd (Ed.), (1963). Learning and society (pp. 222-228). Toronto: Mutual Press.

Baker, W. (1971). Community development in rural society. In J. Draper (Ed.). Citizen participation: Canada, (pp. 84-92). Toronto: New Press.

Campfens, H. (1979). Community development policy and programme: Review and conceptual analysis. In D. Chekki (Ed.), Community development: Theory and method of planned change (pp. 201-220). New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

Coady, M. (1950). Mobilizing for enlightenment. In R. Kidd (Ed.), Adult education in Canada (pp. 198-203). Toronto: Garden City Press Co-operative.

Collins, M. (1991). Adult education as vocation. London: Routledge.

Draper, J. (1984). Voluntarism in Canadian human services. In M. Nair, R. Hain & J. Draper (Eds.), Issues in Canadian human services (pp. 68-74). Toronto: OISE Press.

Goulet, D. (1971). The cruel choice: A new concept in the theory of development. New York: Athenum.

Hamilton, E. & Cunningham, P. (1989). Community-based adult education. In S. Merriam & P. Cunningham (Eds.), Handbook of adult and continuing education (pp.439-450). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Heaney, T. & Horton, A. (1990). Reflective engagement for social change. In J. Mezirow & Associates (Eds.), Fostering critical reflection in adulthood (pp. 74-98). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Heyworth, E. (1991). "Town"/"gown" and community relations: Case studies of social empowerment. In P. Harries-Jones (Ed.), Making knowledge count: Advocacy and social science. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Jamieson, P. (1985, May). Antigonish--the two-sided legacy. New Maritimes, p. 10.

Landis, B. (1950). Little Dover. In R. Kidd (Ed.), Adult education in Canada. (pp. 195-198). Toronto: Garden City Co-operative.

Lotz, J. (1976). Whatever happened to community development? Canadian Welfare, 52, 5-8.

Lovett, T., Clarke, C. & Kilmurray, A. (1983). Adult education and community action. London: Croom Helm.

MacNeill, N. (1969). Challenge for change. In R. Kidd & G. Selman (Eds.), (1978). Coming of age: Canadian adult education in the 1960's (pp. 229-233). Toronto: Canadian Asssociation for Adult Education.

McKenzie, R. (1950). Farm forum--voice of rural Canada. In R. Kidd (Ed.), Adult education in Canada (pp. 168-178). Toronto: Garden City Press Co-operative.

Newson, J. & Buchbinder H. (1988). The university means business. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Roberts, H. (1979). Community development: Learning and action. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sanders, I. (1970). The concept of community development. In L. Cary (Ed.). Community development as a process. (pp. 9-31). Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Selman, G. (1991). Citizenship and the adult education movement in Canada. Vancouver: University of British Columbia/International Council for Adult Education.

Welton, M. (1987). "On the eve of a great mass movement": Reflections on the origins of the CAAE. In F. Cassidy and R. Faris (Eds.), Choosing our future: Adult education and public policy in Canada (pp. 12 - 35). Toronto: OISE Press.

Historical Development of Adult Education

A Focus on Africa

James A. Draper
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
(University of Toronto)

Abstract

This paper is part of a larger project involving country members of the Commonwealth. A coordinator for each country was asked to develop an adult education chronology, going back to the early 1900s. This paper is an analysis of the chronologies from Africa, showing the similarities and differences in the development of adult education and the implication of this information to the professionalizing of the field of adult education.

Résumé

Cet article fait partie d'un projet de plus grande envergure auquel participent les pays membres du Commonwealth. On a demandé à un coordonnateur de chaque pays d'élaborer une chronologie de l'éducation des adultes, et ce, depuis le début des années 1900. Cet article se veut une analyse des chronologies de l'Afrique où l'on démontre les similarités et les différences relatives au développement de l'éducation des adultes et les conséquences de cette information pour la reconnaissance du statut professionnel du champ de l'éducation des adultes.

Purpose of the Study:

The overall purpose of this research project is to document and analyze the chronological development of adult education in country members of the Commonwealth from the early 1900s to the present. For most Commonwealth countries, this time frame will span both pre and post independence as modern nations. The specific purpose of this presentation is to present the data from the Africa region.

This is a project of the Commonwealth Association for the Education and Training of Adults (CAETA) which has its Secretariat at the University of Zimbabwe.

Background and Methodology:

There are presently 50 countries in the Commonwealth (previously the British Commonwealth), most of whom have become independent since WWII. I initiated a discussion on this research project at the Fourth World Assembly of Adult Education held in Bangkok in 1990, and followed this up in Malaysia and elsewhere with discussions with other colleagues from other countries, as a way of confirming the need for and interest in the project and the design for undertaking it.

Currently there are over thirty countries involved in the project, and over the next year it is hoped to include all the 50 countries in the Commonwealth. With guidelines from the principal investigator, country coordinators (one for each country) were selected to undertake the development of the country-specific history/chronology, to include the role of government, non-government organizations, trade unions, women's groups, religious organizations and others. "Adult education" is broadly defined, and therefore each chronology is intended to include a wide range of sponsoring agencies, content being learned, and client groups.

An important/essential component of the design is that the development of each chronology must be participatory, that is, as many people as possible must be involved in constructing it, in order to minimize one particular bias or focus. The chronologies which have been received indicate that this practice has been followed.

The Commonwealth is divided into five regions. The priority for undertaking the study is as follows: Africa region; Caribbean region; South and East Asia; Europe (including Canada); Asia South Pacific.

Rationale and Outcome:

It is anticipated that a series of monographs, one for each of the five regions, will be published over the next two years. Valuing the importance of developing international partnerships and establishing and extending networks, each regional monograph will be jointly published by CAETA, by the regional adult education association (in the case of Africa, the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education), other regional associations which want to participate, and other international organizations such as the International Congress of University

Adult Education . The distribution of the publications will be handled by the regional adult education association and royalties shared by the regional association and CAETA.

Each monograph will include an analysis and interpretation of the data, following the descriptive presentation of each country chronology. For each region, an attempt will be made to develop an approximate typology or classification of adult education agencies referred to in the chronologies. Finally the monograph will include a section on the value of having a historical perspective and the contribution of this to training adult education practitioners and to the professionalizing of the field of adult education. Each monograph will also include a regional chronology. At the end of each chronology are references for further readings.

In addition to the above values, each monograph makes a contribution to comparative and international studies. It should also be useful to the post-secondary education of adult educators (those working on masters or doctoral degrees in adult education). Most of the country coordinators are themselves academics.

Cursory Analysis of the Data:

The analysis of the data is based on the chronologies from the following African countries:

Botswana
Ghana
Kenya
Lesotho
Malawi
Nigeria
Swaziland
Tanzania
Uganda
Zambia
Zimbabwe

Collectively, the chronologies cite:

- specific events which directly or indirectly influenced and/or extended the opportunity for adults to learn, such as government policies or legislation
- the development or expansion of educational programs for adults
- the establishing or expansion of specific adult education agencies
- specific client groups being served

Of those agencies mentioned, from the Africa region, they seem to fall within one or more of the categories within the larger typology presented below.

Classification of Adult Education Agencies

I. Government (A) Those agencies which have been established primarily for the purpose of (adult) education, to serve the larger general public.

II.	Government (B)	Programmes for the continuing and in-service education of employees; or government ministry non-formal education programmes for specific sectors of the general population.
III.	Public Sector	Those organizations with their own directors and management but which have been incorporated by government and which are influenced by government policy.
IV.	Autonomous Quasi-Government	Such as colleges, universities, and schools.
V.	Autonomous	Although often depending on various levels of government funding, these agencies are essentially autonomous in determining their programmes.
VI.	Private Sector	Those organizations whose primary goal is profit-making but which have their own non-formal educational programmes.
VII.	Non-Government Voluntary Organizations	NGOs
VIII	Non-Profit Special Interest	Which have programmes to serve the interests of their members, such as trade unions.
IX.	Non-Profit Special Issues	Often NGOs but with a single focus in their efforts to raise the level of awareness of the public in understanding specific issues, such as environmental, or AIDS or Cancer.
X.	International NGOs	Those which are supporting specific projects in particular countries and regions.

The above is a general typology. Some agencies are not easily classified within one category, but may seem to fit within more than one. The chronologies presented in this study and the above classification, together illustrate the wide diversity of the practice of adult education, primarily non-formal education.

Countries vary as to the predominance of government in direct programming or in influencing the programmes of other agencies. Countries also vary in their tradition of having a non-government (NGO) sector, represented in many cases, by religious organizations such as Christian churches.

Finally, as one would expect, various target groups are served by the agencies reported in the study: men and women, rural/urban, specific groups such as farmers or factory workers, and issues such as population education, nutrition, health, environment, or literacy. Literacy programmes for men and women have noticeably increased over the years. Although not specifically stated, the military continues to be a predominant adult education agency.

The chronologies serve as the basis for further study and emphasizes the need for further research.

Making Needs: Toward A Historical Sociology of Needs and Needs Assessment in Adult and Continuing Education

Howard S. Davidson

This paper draws on constructionist theory as it has developed in the sociology of social problems to critique conventional perspectives on needs in adult education and to theorize needs-making activity as a social-historical accomplishment.

Cette étude s'appuie sur la théorie constructioniste tel que développé dans la sociologie des problèmes sociaux afin de critiquer les perspectives conventionelles des besoins de l'éducation permanente et pour théoriser l'action de la génération de besoins comme un accomplissement socio-historique.

The purpose of this paper is to challenge the presupposition that needs are "thing-like" and somehow "out there" to be discovered, assessed, and incorporated into program planning. Needs, I argue, are not discovered but made, and making them is the work of adult educators. This perspective does not deny needs *per se* but actually heightens their material existence by making their material nature more fully apparent by centering on historical memory and consciousness of the social conditions in which needs are identified. For needs to become thing-like requires a productive process, which is a fundamentally socio-historical accomplishment.

I begin by outlining the contemporary features of the current discourse on needs and by showing that it has not broken loose from posing definitional and technical problems. Then, after delineating parallels between the discourse on needs and the sociological discourse on social problems, I draw on constructionist theory, which advanced the study of social problems beyond a preoccupation with definitions and technical issues, in order to shift our perspective towards needs.

Some contemporary features and problematics of needs

Prior to the mid-1970s, a decidedly psychological perspective dominated the discourse on needs (Long, 1983:182). In 1964, Leagans defined needs "as the difference between what is, and what ought to be; they always imply a gap" (Leagans quoted in *ibid*.), and later Witkin refined and promoted this with considerable success as the "discrepancy model" (Witkin, 1984:6).

The discrepancy model's popularity highlights the influence of functionalist abstractions in the discourse on needs. Every phenomenon in a social formation is understood to survive and flourish in so far as it serves abstract functions for the social system. The function attributed to adult education is meeting the needs of adults for continuous, non-degree education; to fulfill this function adult educators require a means to identify needs in order to serve adults with effective program planning. The problem is technical, how to find and measure the gap. The conception of need as gap, a discrepancy model, is useful; ergo it is popular.

Where do the gaps come from? This too is resolved by the functionalist perspective. They emerge when the normative order is disrupted, when what once seemed functional now seems dysfunctional, when "what is" is no longer what some social actors posit as "what ought to be". Individuals and institutions must modify existing social structures to reduce the discrepancy. When the discrepancy is reduced or eliminated, a more functional social equilibrium is restored.

When operating within a functionalist perspective, what one wants to know is how a phenomenon functions in the social system, what the phenomenon does, what need it meets. The adult educator's role is one of discovery, to seek out discrepancies which impede progress. This task may be difficult to accomplish. Some activities which are recognized as dysfunctional on closer examination are recognized to have functional properties. A discrepancy may be functional for one group of people and dysfunctional for another. Herbert Gans, for example, suggests possible functions of poverty, one being that "because the poor are required to work for low wages, they subsidize a variety of economic activities that benefit the affluent [e.g. domestic labour]" (Gans, 1990:32). Witkin notes that what is a gap for one may not be for another: "Identification and assessment of human services needs are complicated by the fact that needs are relative to the perceiver, that they are diffuse and interrelated and in a state of constant flux, and that they cannot be translated into community programs without taking into consideration the technology, characteristics of human resources, and consideration of finances" (Witkin, 1984:22).

Gans argues that economic power and social status determine whose functional needs are met; for Witkin such complications may be resolved through the use of sophisticated techniques. Collins describes this persistent technicism and veritable blindness to issues of power and stratification as "the ideology of technical competence as a panacea for ensuring effective practice in all areas of educational endeavors" (Collins, 1988:231).

Still, functionalist literature in adult education recognizes the failure and unintended consequences of efforts to meet needs, factors such as narrow political interests, and elitist attitudes of educators (English, 1977:19) which impede the effective use of needs assessments for program planning.

Functionalist abstractions are by no means crude. Indeed, there is a tendency to narrow one's work to the investigation of minutia on the assumption that by making fine distinctions, the social sciences may enjoy the "success" of the natural sciences in understanding the objects of their concern. Thus, educators have occupied themselves with creating typologies of gaps. One typology which has engendered great interest in adult education is the distinction between the "felt needs" of learners and needs "prescribed" by adult educators for learners. This particular typology may suggest to some that the discourse on needs is not merely about discovering and responding to gaps. While it may raise questions like which type of gap should be identified and responded to and who is most qualified to determine which needs are to be met (the learner or the professional educator), it does not alter the focus on needs as objects. Nor does it show how needs are constructed as socio-historical accomplishments (See Monette, 1979:84).

A final feature of the contemporary discourse considered here is the question of moral judgments. As Monette observed, "The service approach apparently attempts to sidestep the ethical issues which arise when one person tries to influence the behavior of another" (ibid.:88). The inescapable reality, he argues, is that by identifying a gap between is and ought, one makes a normative claim and that since statements are value judgments, educators have a responsibility to make this apparent (ibid.:92). In saying this, he does not discount that gaps exist. They remain the focal point of needs discourse.

Contemporary needs discourse continues to conceptualize needs as objects which are born at the conjuncture of "what is" and "what ought to be" and to proclaim the adult educator as a passive observer who identifies and responds to needs of learners. I want now to shift our point of view and examine not which needs get recognized but the process by which events become needs, exploring theoretical perspectives that may permit us to focus on the needs making process and the constituent labour of adult educators.

Making needs: a constructionist view

A discourse which prior to the mid-1970s was strikingly similar to the one on needs and needs assessment is the sociological discourse on social problems. Robert Merton defined a social problem as "a substantial discrepancy between widely shared social standards and actual conditions of social life" (my emphasis, Merton and Nisbet, 1971:799). As well as a shared definition, the two discourses also shared a preoccupation with technical solutions, the practice of refining definitions with more or less elaborate typologies, and a tendency to theorize failure or unintended consequences of interventions as evidence of incompetence among planners and of political interference.

Profound political developments in the 1960s and a more general attack on the merits of functionalist abstractions helped push social problems discourse beyond the conceptual framework in which social problems were problematized as objective conditions to be discovered, assessed, and reported to state agencies. In his seminal study of the social problem deviance, Becker turned the attention of sociologists away from the deviant to observe that "deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application of rules and sanctions to an "offender." (Becker in Pfohl, 1985:283). This initiated a radical leap beyond the conceptual framework and sociologists began to theorize the socio-historical construction of problems by people working in specific productive social relations. Meanwhile the discourse on needs continued to fetishize its object.

Using the constructionist theory of social problems as a model, we can re-conceptualize needs discourse as socio-historical accomplishments and perceive educators as actors in the genesis of needs. This generative activity of educators can be named needs-making activity, after Spector and Kitsuse's concept of social problems as claims-making activity, "the activities of groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative condition" (quoted in Schneider, 1985:211).

Efforts to theorize social problems as putative conditions have made apparent a sticky epistemological issue about their actual status, and it will raise similar issues concerning the material condition of needs. Saying that problems are putative suggests that they do not exist as objective conditions causing trouble. In some formulations it seems that social conditions are constant. What makes a social problem appear is change in the attention paid to this or that condition; that is, there are no problems just claims-making activities. Similarly, are there no needs, just needs-making activities?

In response, Pfohl argues that it is not necessary to dismiss the objective nature of an experience or event in order to examine how particular "transformative ritual practices" (Pfohl, 1985: 229) situate these conditions as problems to be assessed and solved. Problems/needs refer to actual conditions. A technical approach which conceptualizes problems/needs as "out there" provides a very weak account of their material, constituent nature. Reformulating the perspective toward needs does not dismiss its material nature. Quite the contrary, the aim is to recapture its full material nature by making known the process by which it was produced.

In order to theorize the genesis of needs and the part played by the labour of adult educators in the generative process, we must avoid speaking as if they emerge out of some ether. To do this we could begin by developing accounts of the people who make needs thing-like within specific historical contexts. The advantages of attending to needs-makers' biographies may be illustrated by what has been accomplished in the discourse on social problems. Stephen Pfohl examined historical conditions which contributed to the interest of pediatric radiologists in "the discovery of child abuse". His careful account of the social forces acting upon members of the profession at the time, demonstrates how the "discovery of the `battered child syndrome' was facilitated by the opportunities for various pediatric radiologists to advance medical prestige, form coalitions with other interests, and invent a professionally acceptable deviant label" (Pfohl, 1977:319). Consequently, violence against a child became an illness instead of a crime requiring treatment not punishment.

This historical account maps the transition from the moment when violence was this to when it is that. The aim is not to show how `A' caused `B' but how the conjuncture of elements at some point made it seem more natural to speak, write, encounter the event (i.e. child battering) as a thing-like which prescribes a particular course of action. The transformation is mapped by asking not what the social problem is but how it came about that we respond to the battered child as requiring medical intervention and counselling? How did it come about in the 1990s that we respond to unemployment as the need for literacy education, a fiscal crisis as the need for different styles of management, and so forth.

Concluding remarks

So long as the mention of needs is locked away in chapters on how to conduct program planning, critical research incorporating constructionist theory is not likely to occur. A brief explication of social conditions impeding such effort is a particularly apt way to close this discussion.

When speaking of making needs in adult education, we are referring to a productive process valued at an estimated $60 billion dollars annually (Nowlen, 1987:212). Bell Systems is estimated to spend annually $1.7 billion in staff training. Data from 1983 indicate that the vast majority of education, about 98%, is carried out in the private sector (ibid.:213). Still, industry goes to universities and colleges with their needs. In fact, Nowlen reports that "[e]mployer paid registrations outnumber self-paid registrations in university and college-based continuing education programs by more than four to one" (ibid.). If universities can work with corporate managers to construct needs into forms which the latter recognize as worthwhile, the potential is there for universities to become less dependent on government for funding.

Universities are contradictory sites for corporate training dollars. On the one hand, they offer legitimacy and prestige and they have educational resources. on the other hand, the ideology of academic freedom may conflict with the desire to have needs transformed into specified competencies. There is considerable resistance to the use of public education facilities, including university and college, as private training centres. Collins critiques one manifestation of corporate training (competency-based instruction) by observing that the "[u]nitization, standardization, and the language of industrial-commercial systems is pervasive in both educational administration and in curricula" (Collins, 1983:180). Charner and Rolzinski take the opposing view: "Unless...providers of continuing education and training are willing to offer alternatives to the standard approaches, they may lose out to other providers...who are willing and able to offer almost any course at any time.... Up to $40 billion that is currently spent by corporations for training is at stake (Charner and Rolzinski, 1987:90).

To avoid such disputes, industry may take their training dollars to the private sector or develop in-house training. Rather than being left behind, university-based departments of continuing education may press for staff with the training and professional norms that accommodate corporate mentality by speaking of the need for profits and for contract training. When the subject of needs and needs assessment is raised at conferences, the emphasis is not on making apparent historical accomplishments but on honing one's marketing skills.

I have argued that the material reality of needs is produced through needs making activity. It would be foolish to suggest by silence that understanding the social construction of needs can ignore the social-productive relations in which efforts to encourage critique are made. It is appropriate to conclude by noting that critical work, which is essentially non-instrumental, consumes time which others would rather see spent conducting needs assessment for program planning. Essentially a sociology of needs is, as Kitsuse and Spector observed in reference to social problems, a sociology of work. That, of course, includes the work performed here.

References

Charner, I. and C.A. Rolzinski (1987) Responding to the Educational Needs of Today's Workplace New directions for Continuing Education. No. 33. Jossey-Bass.

Collins, M. (1988) Some further thoughts on Principles of Good Practice in Continuing Education. In Training Educators of Adults. S. Brookfield (Ed.) Routledge.

Collins, M. (1983) A critical analysis of competency-based systems in adult education. Adult Education Quarterly, 33(3), 174-83

English, F. (1977) The politics of needs assessment. Educational Technology, 17(11), 18-23.

Gans, H.J. (1990) The uses of poverty: The poor pay all. In Social Problems Today. J.M. Henslin (Ed.) Prentice Hall.

Long, H.B. (1983) Adult Learning: Research and Practice. Cambridge The Adult Education Company.

Merton, R. and R. Nisbet (1971) Contemporary Social Problems. Revised. Harcourt, Brace and World.

Monette, M. (1979) Needs assessment: A critique of philosophical assumptions. Adult Education, 29(2), 83-95.

Nowlen, P.M. (1987) Special characteristics of continuing education for the professions. In Handbook on Continuing Education. Q.H. Gessner (Ed.) Macmillan.

Pfohl, S.J. (1985) Images of Deviance and Social Control: A Sociological History. McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.

Pfohl, S.J. (1977) The `discovery of child abuse.' Social Problems, 24(2), 310-24.

Schneider, J.W. (1985) Social problems theory: The constructionist view. Annual Review of Sociology, 11, 209-229.

Witkin, B.R. (1984) Assessing Needs in Educational and Social Programs. Jossey-Bass.

Who knows? Who says so? Who decides? Issues in collaborative research

Jane Dawson, Pat Dyer, Lyn Harper, Marina Niks
University of British Columbia

Abstract

Based on the experience of four researchers, this paper explores the issues collaboration in an ethnographic evaluation of two adult education programs.

Fondé sur l'expérience de quatre chercheurs, ce travail s'addresse les significations de la collaboration dans une étude ethnographique de deux programmes d'éducation des adultes.

Introduction

Collaboration in research is a relatively new concept, with a variety of meanings in theory and in practice. In a dictionary, to collaborate can mean "to work together" or "to cooperate with an enemy invader" (Neufeldt, 1988, p. 273). From the start, this ethnographic evaluation of two adult education programs was intended to be 'collaborative" in both aims and means. This paper is a reflection of our own thoughts and experiences, and focuses on particular issues that we encountered. It is a collection of multiple voices, rather than a comprehensive theoretical review.

Context

The literature presents a wide range of ideas about the nature of collaborative research and about who is collaborating with whom. Some authors write about collaboration between or among researchers, often from different disciplines. Our project was directed by two co-investigators with different areas of expertise, who were both university professors at the time the research began. One of them lives two thousand five hundred miles away, linked only by fax, modem, phone, and the occasional visit.

Kyle and McCutcheon (1984) write about collaboration between researchers and the researched and by that they mean that researchers and practitioners - outsiders and insiders - can benefit by working jointly. Our project was initiated by the directors of the adult education programs themselves. They obtained government funding and solicited proposals, and stipulated that there be 'liaison researchers', who were staff members at the research sites. The program directors nominated the people who would fill those positions, although the co-investigators had some power of veto. 'The researched' would be represented by consulting groups made up of students and teachers from each site, who would be asked to assist in ongoing research design and in the refinement of the research questions.

Another area of collaboration, not often discussed in the literature, is that of a team of people working together. In this project, fieldwork was carried out by a research team that included the two liaison researchers and six graduate students in adult education. The latter were hired by the co-investigators, although the program directors had some power of veto. Regular meetings were held among members of the research team. While these meetings were part of the research process, they were also considered a source of data regarding the collaborative aspect of the research.

The practice of collaboration in research raises questions about the designation of roles and responsibilities within the joint project. In our view, the more sharing of power and control among those involved, the more collaborative the research will be. We can analyze collaboration as a spectrum in which a research project can be positioned according to the role that the different actors had in initiating the project, developing questions, providing information, collecting data, analyzing the results, and disseminating them. In our project different groups of actors had different levels of participation in the different stages of the research.

Another way in which the literature analyzes collaborative research is in terms of its purposes and rationale. Lather (1991) writes very explicitly about 'the researched' as those who have a moral right to be involved in a substantive way in research that concerns them, so that they can benefit directly from the process rather than being treated as mere objects of study. One of the guiding principles of this approach is to empower the researched. Others believe that having their data validated by 'the researched' will facilitate some kind of action, while for interdisciplinary collaborators the purpose may simply be a richer and more integrated study (Kyle & McCutcheon, 1984; Troyna & Foster, 1988; Gibson, 1985).

The following stories are all told by graduate student members of the research team. These present issues we have encountered in the practice of collaboration, and are not intended to present the whole picture.

Pat's story: Collaboration as empowerment

I entered a project which was already designed, as a new researcher with goals and ideals but very little actual experience. I was hired as a research assistant, and also planned to use this project as a source of my own research for my master's thesis. For some time I had been interested in emancipatory education and in research as praxis (Lather, 1991). I wanted my research to be true to these values. I was excited about working with a team of researchers whom I respect highly. I knew that I would learn a great deal and that there were many elements of the project which had the potential to be important and useful. But I had concerns about the meshing of my values about what research 'should' be, with the values of those directing the research.

The key issue for me lies in the intention of collaborative research. What does that mean in terms of methodology? Is this particular research project intended to be empowering to 'the researched'? If empowering 'the researched' is not a prime intention of this project but is key for me, how can I approach my part of the research so that it works for me and for the larger project as well? Does my desire to do research as praxis make sense in this project, or should I keep it on hold until my next thesis?

Who are 'the researched' in this study anyway? I am thinking of the students in the programs as the ones who have the least power to define research questions, to create knowledge, and to benefit directly from that knowledge. At these sites, however, the students are an amorphous mass of people who have not initiated this evaluation, and who come and go from the programs over time. Perhaps 'the researched' are the program directors who wanted the study, or the teachers and volunteers who work to carry out the program? It makes sense to have those directly involved in the learning-teaching process to also be involved in giving some direction to the research, so that the information and evaluation provided by the research process will be more likely to be considered valid and useful. But this isn't really what I had in mind for my research focus.

What did I have in mind? I wanted to work with people whose voices are not normally heard. I decided that it would best fit my goals to work with students and teachers to build a consulting group, because I saw this instance of collaboration as providing the major opportunity for 'the researched' to have input into the research design, and to give feedback on data analysis. I think I had some idea of tapping into already present questions and collective feelings of disgruntlement, and helping to figure out themes and sources of concern by listening carefully, doing a joint analysis and having a dialogue on an intellectual plane - together we would construct knowledge. But I found that the students were not participating in my idea of dialogue. Their major concerns were with the evaluation itself, and the impact of its findings on the program: Would it be a threat to what they have? Are they being disloyal if they work with the researchers? Is it safe to sign a consent form or to participate in critique?

I discovered that our language in talking and writing about ethnographic research was not readily accessible. I learned to be simpler, but that simplicity seemed to require being more direct, and raised concerns of being directive. The students did not really have evaluative questions about their program, or, when pressed, came up with questions that I at first judged to be irrelevant to the research task. But why was I asking for their input if I judged it as lacking in an understanding of the scope of research? I wanted to have a wide range of students represented in the group to reflect the cultural diversity of the students in the program, but that meant there was a problem with a differing facility in English. I envisioned us working as a group but found myself participating in a lot of teacher or researcher-directed questioning of the students to encourage them to speak. These are ongoing issues as I continue to struggle with how the consulting group can be empowering in practice, and how the research process can be democratized.

Jane's story: Collaboration as censorship?

When I think about collaboration in this project, three things come to mind: working with others on a research team; the inclusion of people from the sites on that team; and the fact that the initiative for the project came from the sites, not the university. I like these aspects of the project. They suggest openness and cooperation, not just among researchers but between researchers and those researched.

But I also see a potential dilemma. Although I support the social principles of collaboration, I wonder about how it influences the scientific character of the data. Specifically, my questions about this project are: Did the collaborative aspects of the project act as an inadvertent censor, restricting or screening what people--researchers and researched--were willing to say publicly, or even to themselves, about the programs under study? Did collaboration limit the depth of our data and analysis?

These questions arise from my experiences during the research process. First, ethnographic research involves 'fieldnotes', i.e. written observations and impressions about events and people at the sites. Since we worked as a team, our fieldnotes were intended to be read by others. Not by everybody, but by enough people that they were semi-public rather than strictly private documents. Because of this, in my own fieldnotes, my writing was occasionally more careful and guarded, and perhaps less analytic, than it might otherwise have been.

Second, the research team had regular meetings where we discussed emerging findings. As part of the team, the liaison researchers attended most of the meetings. On the whole, their presence was welcome and beneficial. But again, there were times when the open expression of ideas was dampened: we talked about the sites in a more diplomatic, careful way because people from the sites were there.

Third, the fact that the project was initiated by the sites meant, in effect, that we were hired by the 'boss', and most people knew it. Even though the data were confidential and did not belong to the program directors, I can't help but wonder whether people at the sites used the same kind of screening and heightened diplomacy that occurred in fieldnotes (at least my own) and team meetings.

In raising these concerns, I'm not suggesting that collaboration yields bad data or that it's a bad idea. But I wonder whether, in our project, we got more guarded data, politer data, yielding a more superficial analysis, than might have been otherwise possible. Traditional research entails problems of distance, but there may be equal problems that go along with proximity.

Lyn wonders: Whose project is this, anyway?

When I first started working on this project, I was enthusiastic about doing an ethnographic evaluation. I didn't think of it as being 'collaborative', I was just a graduate student hired to do research by a university professor. I was pleased that the project was initiated and sponsored by the programs that were being evaluated. That knowledge made me feel the project was relevant and useful to the community to be studied. But I didn't think of that as collaboration - a feeling reinforced when I was screened by the program directors. The gruelling interview that each of them put me through was tense and serious. . . and led me to believe that I, and perhaps the entire research project, was distrusted. I was clearly an intruder. This feeling was reinforced in my early days in the field, when it was hard to understand what I was supposed to do, where I should sit, how I should present myself to people.

As the fieldwork progressed, the program directors never let me forget that I was an interloper. On the other hand, the staff, students, and volunteers behaved very differently. Most of the staff had already heard about the project, and when I asked to speak with them they spoke readily about their feelings toward their work and their students. Sometimes they'd suggest that we go into a small office for privacy, and then they'd be very frank about their problems. More than halfway through the fieldwork phase, at a staff meeting, several of the teachers told the research team they'd originally had doubts about the project. But because we'd "been so nice" they were now confident that our behavior was not disrupting people in the program. As time passed, they would even ask me or other members of the team to work with students.

As I write this, I find it hard to disentangle the collaborative aspects of the project from the experience of doing ethnographic fieldwork. For me, being a participant-observer involves working closely with the people in the field, sharing dozens of small decisions. I think of this as a very practical level of collaboration. On a more formal basis, I set up a 'consulting group' whose members would help to make suggestions and provide feedback to the research project. As our relationships developed over time and many lengthy conversations, I felt a friendship and a sense of responsibility towards them - and it felt mutual. In this context of trust and respect, our group meetings were congenial and task-oriented. Rather than tell me what I should be doing, group members would ask us what we wanted from them. They made it clear that they were content to let the 'specialists' do the evaluation, since we were all working towards a common goal - improving the program.

When I first talked with students about the evaluation, they wanted to know not just what we were doing, but who we were working for. And I would reply that it was the program directors, who had commissioned the project in the first place. But even in the early stages of the project, I suspect that the directors felt they were losing control. While the co-investigators have been more or less in charge of the research design, they never seemed entirely confident of their relationship with program participants, the liaison researchers and consulting groups in particular. Does collaboration imply a shared sense of ownership? Or does it mean that no-one really feels that they are 'in control'?

As for collaboration among the research team, I feel that's changed over time, as the co-investigators have involved the team in making decisions. Not everyone has taken advantage of this - the liaison researchers regularly defer to the rest of the team, particularly when it comes to questions about the research process. In these situations they frequently explain that they're just learning about ethnography, and can't really contribute. As for myself, I'm not sure of my sense of ownership in the project. I think this has less to do with the way the project is designed, than with my own feelings about my low status as a graduate student and inexperienced ethnographer. Particularly during the lonely days of fieldwork and endless typing of fieldnotes, I was often insecure and uncertain that I was 'doing the right thing'. I worried that the distant co-investigator had expectations that weren't being met. Now that the fieldwork phase has mostly ended, and the writing and analysis are underway, I'm immersed in writing my own thesis - on a very different topic! - and I don't have time to participate fully.

Marina's story: It takes two to tango!

I have to admit that when I first joined the project I was suspicious and judgmental. This was 'collaborative research,' not 'participatory research.' And although I knew that there had been some instances of consulting,I had my doubts about how much input 'the researched' had really had. But ... well, at least this was an opportunity to work in a research team, which I really enjoy, and I could use it for my own thesis.

During the first few months I kept looking from a distance. I observed 'how North Americans do collaborative research.' I observed the team work, the liaison positions, the consulting groups, and the relations between the co-investigators, constantly comparing them to my previous experience, and to an ideal of 'how participation should take place,' or 'what participation really is.'

I am not sure that I had a clear idea of what collaborative research 'should' look like but I kept finding lacks and gaps in the way things were done in terms of the participatory aspects. I did know that I wanted to have a say in how things were to be done. I wanted to feel that I was not only a person collecting data for a project belonging to other people; I wanted to feel that this was MY project too. But I thought these feelings were influenced by my previous experience in research teams, and by being Argentinean - which means that I question and argue a lot.

As the investigation developed, the members of the research team began to question some decisions that the co-investigators had made regarding our participation in the analysis, ownership of the results, and authorship in the reports. To my surprise, I found that 'they' did not have answers but questions as well. And they were ready to change the plans, and they did. Gradually we, the members of the research team, became more than field workers; we became researchers.

Collaboration was not something that we had to copy from other projects, nor a model that we should follow or use to measure the quality of our experience with. We, the co-investigators and the research team, were trying to construct our own understanding of what collaboration means.

I found myself no longer looking at how others perceive and do things. Instead I was working with people on this particular project. Rather than comparing, criticising, and looking for what was missing, I began to ask myself questions.

A lot of time was dedicated to create the consulting groups as a means to involve 'the researched.' Is that the role of the research? What if these groups asked different questions than those that we were funded to address? Would any questions be accepted? If it's up to one group (research team, co-investigators) to decide on or accept certain questions and pursue them, how is the research collaborative? How do we avoid, if we do, manipulating people's input? What do we do when a person or a group of persons claim their rights to participate (teachers, directors) but others do not (students, volunteers)? Is it the researcher's role to change that?

Pulling it together

After working together for a year, and working on this paper, we find that the concerns we have had about our personal experiences with the research are becoming clarified. We have been participating in an innovative project, and are having to invent it even as we do it. We find we have different ideas of what collaboration means, and how it has or hasn't taken place among the structures and levels of activities in this research.

Within this project, there has been space for this diversity in views. As issues relating to participation and collaboration arise, they have been discussed and resolutions have been sought. These ongoing discussions, some of which are represented here, may help others recognize potentials and pitfalls so they may be more prepared to engage in collaborative research projects.

REFERENCES

Gibson, M.A. (1985). Collaborative educational ethnography: Problems and profits. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 16, 124-148.

Kyle, D.W. & McCutcheon, G. (1984). Collaborative research: Development and Issues. Journal of Curriculum Studies, 16 (2), 173-179.

Lather, P. (1991). Research as Praxis. Getting Smart. N.Y.: Routledge.

Neufeldt, V. (1988). Webster's New World Dictionary. New York: Webster's New World.

Troyna, B. & Foster, P. (1988). Conceptual and ethical dilemmas of collaborative research: Reflections on a case study. Educational Review, 40(3), 289-299.

Bridging the Cultural Gap: Non-Aboriginal Adult Educators and Aboriginal Adult Learners

Margaret Fisher Brillinger, Ed.D.
Debra Cantrell, M.Ed.

Abstract

This paper identifies and examines some of the cultural biases, assumptions and rules of behavior that influence the learning experiences shared by non-Native adult educators and Aboriginal adult learners. Specific instructional techniques and strategies are discussed.

Resume

Cet article identifie, puis examine, certains préjugés culturels, ainsi que certaines suppositions et règles de comportement qui influent sur des éducateurs non-autochtones et des apprenants autochtones en situation d'apprentissage. On présente ici des stratégies et des méthodes précises à l'intention de l'éducateur.

Introduction

The majority of the educators involved in the development and delivery of both formal, academic education and informal skill-training are non-Native. Non-Aboriginal adult educators are influenced by cultural assumptions that often inhibit the learning initiatives they facilitate with Aboriginal adult learners. Likewise, these learners bring their own cultural biases and rules of behavior that pose special challenges for non-Aboriginal adult educators. Educators who are unaware of these differing assumptions, biases and behavior patterns often inadvertently create a learning environment which is characterized by paternalism, dependency and resistance, resulting in frustration and discouragement for both the learner and the educator.

We are both non-Aboriginal adult educators with more than 14 years of combined experience in working with First Nation people in academic and informal learning environments. In this paper, we reflect on our own experiences and insights gained through our attempts to bridge the two cultures. We identify some of the biases and assumptions of non-Aboriginal adult educators and First Nation adult learners and share specific instructional strategies that have enhanced the learning experience of our learners.

In this paper, the terms 'Aboriginal', 'First Nation', and 'Native' are used interchangeably.

Principles of Learning and Cultural Rules

A widely acknowledged principle with regard to adult learners is respect for the previous experience which they bring to the learning situation. Adults bring their own history and past experience which affect their attitudes, motivations, and processes in the present. Many Aboriginal learners have had years of experience with paternalistic non-Native "experts" for teachers. They have learned that the appropriate stance for them as learners is passive compliance.

Furthermore, it is suspected that a large percentage of Aboriginal learners are affected to some degree with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome or minimally, tendencies toward this. Little research to date has explored the true prevalence of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome in the Aboriginal adult population; however, we believe that many of the challenges to learning experienced by many adult Aboriginal learners such as attention deficit, memory impairment, and cognitive retention may be linked to this Syndrome.

Educators too bring past experience to the learning environment. Regardless of the level of their desire to help, if they have little or limited understanding of Native culture and beliefs, they will be at a disadvantage. They may make assumptions and interpretations that are inaccurate, resulting in efforts which are at best irrelevant and at worst harmful, in spite of their good intentions. It is therefore imperative that educators be aware of and sensitive to the beliefs, assumptions, and needs of Aboriginal learners.

Learning is personal meaning-making. It is a process going on within the learner. The educator cannot give the process to the learner. The Native principle of non-interference alongside the internalized meaning-making of the learner encourages diversity and downplays the role of the expert. Our experience has been that many First Nation people often listen quietly and respectfully to the educator but do not necessarily assimilate and use what is being told to them. Their belief in non-interference enables them to listen to other perspectives and then quietly disregard them if these views do not fit with their own experience. This observation has profound implications in the traditional learning environment which caters to, encourages, and rewards the auditory learner because verbal participation is usually perceived by the educator to be evidence of active learning.

Silence on the other hand, which is often misinterpreted in the traditional classroom environment as evidence of disinterest, boredom, or an inability to grasp what is being taught, is synonymous with respect and wisdom in most Native community settings. Moreover, when placed in a learning environment with non-Native learners, many Native learners report feeling uncomfortable and somewhat inhibited by the often animated and confrontative fashion with which non-Natives verbalize their thoughts. This traditionally non-Native style of communicating violates the traditional Native principle of non-confrontation. Educators must be sensitive to the discomfort and inferiority that many adult Native learners feel as a result of the greater skill and ease with which the non-Native learners verbally participate.

Experienced educators recognize that there is a "teachable moment" when the learner is most receptive. The experiences and forces moving the learner along seem to converge at a certain point for the "moment of readiness" that makes learning possibilities auspicious. The dominant society's push toward end goals and productivity does not always respect the patience and trust required to let ideas and information simmer. Educators eager to impose a particular curriculum on Native learners may push too fast and impose too much. Most Native people place greater importance on the means or the process as opposed to the end or the goals that are sought.

Aboriginal people place great importance on timing. The time is right when all preparatory thought promises an optimal outcome. The following example illustrates this well.

> A young Native man raised in a non-Native culture exhibited an uncanny skill at fishing. While his non-Native friends expressed frustration while throwing in their lines and getting not a single bite, the Native lad waited patiently. At a moment when he sensed that the time and place were right, he put his line in the water and landed the catch of the day. This behavior happened frequently and his friends grew to recognize him as a gifted fisherman.

This trust in a point in time when all factors converge to make learning auspicious is related to the natural progression through the experiential learning cycle. In Kolb's model for experiential learning (1984), reflection and observation on what is happening are necessary for understanding and clarifying before one acts. The process begins with 1) experiencing, 2) observing, and reflecting, 3) clarification or understanding, and 4) active experimentation. The Native learning process observed by Rhodes (1988) consists of 1) observing, 2) thinking or reflecting, 3) understanding and feeling, and 4) acting.

We have noticed that observation and visual processing appear to be the primary means by which learning is undertaken by Native learners. This is consistent with findings from earlier and more recent studies (Browne, 1990; John, 1972; Kleinfeld, 1988; and, Walker, Dodd, & Bigelow, 1989) which tend to support a commonly held belief that many Aboriginal people have a preference for visual learning as opposed to verbal and kinesthetic learning. Many Native learners observe quietly, taking in information which they assimilate into previous experience and wait patiently before acting. Rather than trying to control their surroundings or jump into impulsive action, they retreat into a position of observation, deliberately slowing down their responses in order to consider all cues and examine all angles before acting.

In contrast non-Native learners are more likely to fall back on action and busyness when confronted with new stimuli. Learning by 'trial and error' is essentially a non-Native approach. Educators from the dominant culture that reinforces action and control of the environment need to appreciate the importance of the observational stance of Aboriginal learners lest they prod them on to act prematurely.

Instructional Implications

It is important for educators to remember that many Aboriginal people have a limited understanding of the English language. The use of technical or other professional jargon is most effective when articulated at a slower pace and paraphrased and re-stated in simple language. For example, 'children manifest specific behaviors' is better understood when re-stated as 'children display or show certain behaviors'. The use of translators from within the group or from outside is especially helpful in order to increase the learners' comprehension of the content being taught.

In addition, we maximize opportunities for small-group work and encourage Native learners to undertake assigned tasks within their groups in their Native tongue. Adult Native learners show a preference for small group discussions as opposed to large group discussions and demonstrate greater verbal participation in these smaller, more intimate settings. The small group setting is less threatening and inhibiting, and encourages cooperation versus individualism and competition between members.

Many Native learners report frustration and eventually resign themselves to feeling a sense of incompetence resulting from their inability to compose and organize their thoughts in grammatically correct written form. Educators must therefore find more effective and creative ways for student evaluation that are less contingent on verbal participation and grammatically correct written compositions and examinations. We encourage learners to develop their writing skills and organize their thoughts through point-form recordings. We have encouraged learners to tape record their assignments if they are troubled by their writing skills and to use drawings and symbols to demonstrate concepts if they prefer. As an additional alternative to writing, learners are paired with supportive learning partners whose written and verbal skills compliment their own. We also encourage learners to demonstrate their comprehension of specific concepts through story-telling. More emphasis on learners' ability to grasp and demonstrate comprehension and application of concepts and less emphasis on written expression builds self-confidence and reinforces self-esteem.

Personalized interactions with the instructor/educator which are characterized by warmth, respect, and genuine positive regard for the reality from which Native students come have been observed to increase learners' commitment to the learning projects they have undertaken. One manner in which we demonstrate our respect for learners' cultural reality is to invite an Elder (or Elders) to be present and/or actively involved throughout the learning session. Minimally, we encourage the involvement of an Elder in the opening and closing segments of the learning experience. Whenever possible, negotiations about the Elder's role are negotiated beforehand. Whether this occurs prior to or at the session, the decision whether to involve Elders is made by the participants. It would be both presumptuous and disrespectful to select and invite Elders to a session independent of a decision reached by group consensus.

Equally important to the interpersonal relationship that is forged between educator and learner is the physical environment in which the learning experience unfolds. Our learning experiences begin and end in a circle because the circle has special significance for Aboriginal people. It is here that we begin validating learners' reality by encouraging 'round-table' discussions that set the tone for the remainder of the session. Participants are encouraged to comment on and/or share their thoughts and feelings on issues that are current both in and outside of their communities. We use this as an opportunity to share news we have received about issues affecting them and we ask for their clarification and thoughts from their perspective and within their cultural context. The round table discussions are often the first arena in which many learners risk speaking out for the first time; their reward of the group's unconditional acceptance further increases esteem and self-confidence.

We have noticed that most First Nation people prefer experiential learning, at their own pace, through observing-then-doing. Their learning is enhanced by the inclusion of relevant, concrete examples taken from their real-life settings in activities that enable them to apply or try out new found knowledge and skills. Instruction that allows freedom from time constraints, private time for reflection and practice, demonstration and modeling by the instructor, and projects that encourage creative exploration and problem-solving will build on patterns of learning that have been established in their own cultural milieu.

Concluding Remarks

Adult educators are reminded that all people, regardless of their cultural and ethnic orientations, perceive the world in different ways, learn about the world in different ways, and demonstrate what they have learned in different ways. These processes reflect the reality from which they emerge and into which they want to be able to transfer their knowledge and skills in meaningful ways. In view of these acknowledged cultural perspectives, educators must continually explore ways of bridging individual differences by respecting, rewarding, enhancing and complimenting the learning patterns and styles that have evolved within the learners environment.

This paper represents a celebration of cultural similarities and differences that have been bridged through respect for and sensitivity to the cultural reality of adult Native learners. Our First Nation students have reinforced our belief in the principles of adult education. The challenge that remains for all of us is to 'walk the talk' that is so often preached by adult educators. In doing so, we will bridge cultural gaps that otherwise create barriers to positive, successful learning experiences for Aboriginal adult learners.

References

Browne, D.B. (1990). Learning styles and Native Americans. Canadian Journal of Native Education. 17, (1), 23-35.

John, V. (1972). Styles of learning - styles of teaching: Reflections of the education of Navajo children. In D. Cazden, V. John & D. Hymes (Eds.), Functions of language in the classroom New York: Teachers College Press.

Kleinfeld, J. (1988). Adapting instruction to Native Americans' learning style: An iconoclastic view. In W. Lonner and V. Tyler (Eds.), Cultural and ethnic factors in learning and motivation: Implications for education (pp. 83-101). Bellingham, WA: Western Washington University.

Kolb, D. (1984). Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Rhodes, R.W. (1988). Holistic teaching/learning for Native American students. Journal of American Indian Education. 27, (2), 2-29.

Walker, B., Dodd, J., & Bigelow, R. (1989) Learning preferences of capable American Indians of two tribes. Journal of American Indian Education. Special Issue, 63-71.

Facilitating Andragogy: The Japanese Experience

Barbara L. Francis, M Ed.
Area Studies Program, University of Tsukuba.
and
The University of Library and Information Science
Tsukuba, Japan

A Paper for Presentation at the Annual Meeting of
The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education
Ottawa, Ontario, June 1993

Abstract

This paper will describe the experiences of a Canadian Adult Educator who facilitated self-directed learning as an English Teacher and Cultural Trainer for four distinct groups of adult learners over a two year period from 1991- 1993 in Tsukuba Science City, Japan.

Résumé

Cette publication décrira les expériences d'un enseignant canadien pour adultes qui a facilité l'apprentissage auto-diragé comme enseignant d'anglais et comme chargé culturel de 1991 à 1993 dans Tsukuba Science City, Japon.

The intercultural facilitator in Japan finds oneself paradoxically in a rigidly controlled education system and yet in a system that is cognizant of the need for change. But change must of necessity be facilitated through consensus and in a non-confrontational manner. Every successful educator must appreciate the notion that change is nothing new to the Japanese. The process of change that is going on in Japan is not radical; it can best be understood as a quiet revolution.

Although the basic concepts of andragogy have some applicability to the Japanese experience, the assumptions underlining those concepts may have little meaning. The realities of facilitating learning in the Japanese Education system require a cultural awareness that is sensitive to the unique context of the Japanese experience. One must question the extent to which a *gaijin* (an outsider) in Japanese society can ever fully understand the personality needs of the Japanese. What the facilitator can provide instead is a supportive interpersonal climate that allows the learner to come to a better understanding of him/herself in relation to the society in which that individual lives, and a greater appreciation for the multifaceted nature of the *Kokusaijin,* or citizen of the world.

Malcolm Knowles (1975) sees the psychological definition of adulthood as the point at which individuals perceive themselves, and need to be perceived by others, as being self-directed. In Japanese society the psychological perception of adulthood both for the individual and the society is not about self-directedness, but rather about the acquisition of socially acceptable behaviour. The individual becomes an adult at that point when he or she is deemed capable of controlling individual feelings and emotions. Learning to be non-confrontational and limiting one's individualism is essentially being adult.

The Japanese student enters university after entrusting personal decision making to authority figures: the teacher and the *kyoikumama* (education mama). This fosters an environment of dependency. Takeo Doi (1973), author and psychiatrist at International Christian University, Tokyo, has called this an *amae.* This is an important concept for understanding not only the psychological makeup of the individual but also the structure of the Japanese educational system. The Japanese education system supports a *transmission of knowledge* (Miller, 1988) in which the teacher as an authority figure knows best what the student needs to know and what he or she needs to know is what is required to pass the examination. Young adult students have a very negative attitude to learning because they see learning as synonymous with "examination hell".

In contrast to the North American education system there is no notion of separation from dependency relationships, but instead an emphasis on the need for connection and membership in the group. The clearest analogy in our Western experience to the Japanese concept of connectedness comes from Jane Loevinger (1970) who describes a fifth stage of "autonomous" ego development as "an autonomy placed in context of relationships". In such a context there is an excessive sense of responsibility because other people control your destiny.

Because of this control, it is difficult for students in the first few years of University to be self-directed. The tendency is for students to want to defer to the perceived authority of the facilitator even when it has been made clear that leadership is to be shared. Moreover, the design of the Japanese curriculum is almost entirely without regard for the individual needs of the learner. Undergraduate programs, for example, are rigidly described courses of study with many compulsory subjects.

There are some obvious attributes to transmission learning such as high ranking scores on competency testing, and the highest rates of literacy in the world. But there is also a down side to this system. Learners are at a lost to make autonomous or deliberate choices. In addition the stress of the university entrance examination psychologically creates a period of burnout, characterized by apathy and a slacking off of study habits among university students.

Moreover, even the most inspiring adult educator is thwarted by large class sizes, and students who typically are taking as many as fifteen subjects. In reality the most powerful force working against serious learning is a keen awareness that for many undergraduates this is the only period in their life-time that they will experience personal freedom from external obligations. In the end a facilitator at a university must concede to an attitude which discourages self-directed learning and encourages a permissive environment in an otherwise controlled society. The undergraduate years are a transition period of "void time" between the demands of highschool and the anticipated demands of corporate life.

Once the graduating student gains entrance into a company the employer assumes responsibility for training and continuing adult education. With typical work days of 10-12 hours, employers provide seminars, work shops, leisure activities and culture and language training. After the Equal Opportunity Employment Law came into effect in 1986, many large scale companies offered women employees two different employment options: the general track (mommy track) and the integrated track (career track). While in law there appears to be an option, the reality is that there is not a choice, since only the brightest, most dedicated, "superwomen" are admitted to the integrated track. Japanese men, on the other hand, are not given the choice. For example in the Spring of 1991, Tokyo Marine, a progressive Japanese Insurance Company, hired 424 men and 577 women but only 24 of these women were employed in the integrated track.(Iwao,1993 p.180).

The vertical relationships and heirarchial relationships of the corporate culture are apparent when facilitating learning in the work place. Even the most talented of young employees will defer to age hierarchy and in the case of young women to gender. The structure of top-down goal formation and the tendency to facilitate pre-existing work groups makes it difficult if not impossible to establish an interpersonal climate for learning. This situation is amplified by the reality of life-long employment and little labour mobility. Employees are unable to resist group pressures toward conformity. The facilitator can never achieve group membership and is very much the outsider in a pre-established group dynamic in a corporate culture where group identification is an all encompassing web of interconnections.

Those who do not want the corporate option may find themselves in Graduate School bidding their time until an appropriate choice opens to them. In this sense graduate school is outside the mainstream of Japanese life. Graduate Schools are distinguished by learners who have a broader perspective and who are more inclined to challenge the system. Frequently these are returnees — students who have had an opportunity to live and study abroad. Graduate schools have a significant number of mature students many of whom have rejected corporate culture and seek greater options and more personal autonomy by becoming researchers and academics. Others find themselves released from public service jobs to seek more knowledge and skills in applied areas. However, many corporations still prefer to send their employees to graduate schools abroad rather than to schools in Japan. Typically graduate schools have a a higher percentage of international students mainly from Pacific Rim Countries. At the University of Tsukuba, for example, international students constitute 25% of the graduate population. Although there are still a number of prescribed courses, students typically are freer to chart their own course of learning and to be their own brokers in the learning process.

Thus andragogy is more likely to succeed at the graduate level because students are active agents in the educational process. These students are keen to examine relationships and to gain awareness and the skills necessary to transform these relationships where it is deemed appropriate. Furthermore, smaller group size and classes that meet twice a week make it easier to establish an interpersonal climate. Greater autonomy and the desire to learn make it easier to facilitate goal setting for students who are more likely to draw on their own life experiences and theoretical background. Learning contracts, shared leadership and learning partners are readily accepted by this group of learners. The process of valuing differences and the greater multi-cultural diversity found at this level makes it possible to expand traditional Japanese group dynamics into a more global learning environment.

As these graduate students enter the work force as academics and researcher they constitute a fourth group of adult learners. National

Research Institutes provide adult education classes for their employees. One example in my experience was a select group of National Researchers who had been invited to participate in a ten week, Intensive English Language and Culture Training Seminar sponsored by the Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA). Although there were a few cases where the student had been mandated to participate in this course, in general this group of learners fulfilled all the requirement to be considered self-directed. The processes of self evaluation and peer evaluation and the chance to work with learning partners helped to breakdown the anxiety associated with speaking and communicating effectively in English. For many of these learners it was their first chance to learn in an atmosphere that emphasized enjoyment and the freedom to make mistakes as normative, thus breaking down the greatest barriers to effective communication: the fear of failure. The logical spin off from this new-felt confidence as learners is that many of the students became self-directed in their learning

This was particularily true for the post-war generation of learners born between 1946-55. After their formal training in the JICA program had ended, a group of adult students formed their own learning circle. I was asked to facilitate this group providing them with multicultural training and communication skills over a 17 months period between 1991-1993. All members of the group or their spouses were university educated and affiliated with one of the National Institutes for Research in Tsukuba Science City. Many of the participants of this group were environmental activists and one member of the group was on the organizing committee of the Japanese delegation to the Earth Summit. This group was concerned with social issues such as the role of the National Defence Forces, the building of nuclear power plants in Japan, water quality, the destruction of wooded areas for development and the development of mass transit for Tsukuba Centre --issues that we discussed in our weekly group encounter.

The group dynamics differed notably as compared to corporate and research learning environments. This can be attributed to three factors: their democratic education in post-war Japan; their university years as idealists in the mid 60's and their subsequent envolvement in the co-operative and environmental movements. Traditional corporate groups and those affiliated with the social structure of Japan are organized around vertical relationships. Unlike other groups of Japanese this group dynamic was linked by bonds that did not fit into the framework of human relationships common to the vertical society. Because the group was formed by the individual volition of the members, there appeared to be little relationship between their work or their social status. Hence the line separating group members (insiders) from nonmembers (outsiders) shifted as new members joined the group or as members left or rejoined the group at their own convenience. This group was distinguished by shared leadership and a dynamic which allowed the facilitator to become an insider. Group leadership was organizational rather than authoritative. Hence vertical ranking was generally rejected and group members were linked by lateral ties of "unconditional positive regard". The group offered a safe place to have "real talk" *(honne)*. The principles of andragogy worked effectively in this group as a result of the horizontal bonds of respect for each other and for the learning process in general.

My experience as an adult educator in Japan between 1991-1993 has demonstrated that self-directed learning might be considered a subversive activity in a society that encourages groupism over the needs of the individual. Our goal-oriented behaviour contrasts sharply with the role-directed behaviour of the Japanese in the education system and in the workplace.

There is, however, significant personal learning for the facilitator of adult education in the Japanese culture. This is a society in which co-operation provides the basis of interdependency and equality on the human scale. Yet it is also a society that although effective is restrictive and stifling to the individual because of its traditional vertical structure and its dependency relationships.

Japan is a society that understands that cultural continuity is necessary for its survival as a nation, yet it is a society with a consciousness for educational change that can best be described as a quiet revolution. Andragogy is part of that revolution. As adult educators, we can also learn a great deal from a country such as Japan whose only resources are its people. Perhaps we have failed to achieve the necessary balance between self-directedness and membership in the group, the community, the workplace, the society, and the global community. My experience as an inter-cultural facilitator in the Japanese education system has given me a greater appreciation of the need for balance between individualism and groupism. As an aging society and a global community we will inevitably be depending on others,and thus equality based on mutual dependency not only gives us human dignity but also a reverence for life. The challenge for an effective facilitator of andragogy is to embrace the paradox between virtue and power— to help to reclaim the self through a process of autonomy placed in the context of relationships.

References

Doi, T.(1973). *The Anatomy of Dependence.* Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Iwao, S (1993). *The Japanese Woman: Traditional Image and Changing Reality.* New York: The Free Press

Knowles, M. S.(1975). *Self-directed Learning: a Guide for Learners and Teachers*. Chicago: Follett.

Loevinger, J. and R. Wessler, (1970). *Measuring Ego Development.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miller, J.P. (1988). *The Holistic Curriculum.* Toronto: OISE Press.

Learning in the Workplace:

A Total Quality Initiative Between Frontier College and CP Express and Transport

Prepared for: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education
Prepared by: Corinna Frattini, Frontier College

Abstract:

An examination of a workplace literacy prgram designed for Canadian Pacific Express and Transport. The paper will consider why the program was developed and the process that was undertaken.

It demonstrates how one company successfully developed a learning program that is integrated into the culture and training needs of an organization in transition.

Sommaire:

Ceci est l'examen de la création d'un programme d'alphabétisation en milieu de travail chez Canadien Pacific Express & Transport. Ce document se penche sur les raisons et la démarche utilisées pour développer ce programme.

Ce rapport démontre comment cette entreprise a mis sur pied, avec succès, un programme d'apprentissage qui est intégré à la culture et aux besoins d'un organisme en transition.

Introduction

The following is an overview of a peer tutoring workplace literacy program that was implemented at Canadian Pacific Express and Transport (CPET). In May of 1991, the company approached Frontier College with an interest in developing a Learning in the Workplace program for their employees.

CPET was interested in a learning program for several reasons. Changing management approaches, such as Total Quality Management, required employees to become more independent and use greater problem solving skills. This required improving the basic reading, writing and math skills of some employees.

The company was also in the process of organizational restructuring. The clerical function was being moved to Moncton, New Brunswick. This resulted in some jobs being moved, abolished, or combined. Management felt that a learning program could help all employees to develop transferable skills if they were moved within the company or if they left.

CPET also recognized the need to provide continual training opportunities for their employees. This would help to develop employee capability necessary for the future and ensure employee flexibility.

Following initial meetings with management, the union and employee groups, it was agreed that Frontier College would conduct an Organizational Needs Assessment for two of CPET's Toronto terminals.

Conducting the Organizational Needs Assessment

The Needs Assessment involved interviewing a 10% sample of the clerical department. Interviews were conducted with terminal management, the union, supervisors and clerical staff. The Needs Assessment examined three critical areas:

- Organizational and Departmental Issues
- Training Issues
- Communication Issues.

The findings from the Needs Assessment were used to define program goals and objectives, and to determine program design and content. The report also served to determine the level of interest in a learning program from both management and employee perspectives.

Some of the issues and concerns that employees identified included:

- on-the-job errors that were creating additional work
- the need for adequate employee training to support changing skill requirements
- the need for employees to improve customer service skills and increase their ability to use the internal computer systems.

Based on the findings of the needs assessment report, CPET management decided to implement a three month pilot program.

The Learning Committee

An in-house "learning committee" was established to guide the process of designing and implementing a workplace learning program. Initially, the committee was comprised of five to six employees with representation from management, the union, and interested employees.

Committee members attended a two-day training session from Frontier College to learn how to organize a self-sustaining workplace learning program. The workshop examined areas such as:

- how to assess literacy needs in the workplace
- how to develop a literacy campaign
- options for increasing workplace literacy
- instructional techniques
- how to develop learning materials
- how to evaluate the program.

Generating Employee Involvement

A number of promotional meetings were conducted by Frontier College to inform CPET employees about the program and how they could get involved. Frontier College explained the details of the Needs Assessment process and what the next steps would be.

After completing the Needs Assessment, Frontier College interviewed all employees who wanted to volunteer in the program either as a tutor or a learner. These confidential interviews were approximately 40 minutes in length and gave a clear indication of what job-related tasks employees wanted to learn or to tutor.

The "learning committee" members were instrumental in promoting the program and encouraging employees to come to the one-to-one interviews. Potential tutors and learners were asked to identify both personal and workplace learning goals as well as skills they thought they could share with others.

The information gathered was used by the learning committee to make peer tutor matches based on the interests of the learners and the skill base of the tutors.

Program Description and Tutor Training

Once the tutor-learner matches were made, a three month pilot program was implemented. Tutors received six hours of training from Frontier College. The training covered areas such as:

- the learning environment and barriers to learning
- adult learning principles and the Frontier College student-centred philosophy
- goal setting exercises
- development of learning materials
- evaluation of the learning sessions.

CPET management agreed to a shared-time approach where tutors and learners would meet for one or two hours per week. Employees would contribute one hour of their personal time and CPET would contribute one hour. The time and the location of the learning sessions was made flexible to meet the time demands and schedules of the employees.

Together, tutors and learners would develop individually tailored learning plans that would address a broad range of workplace and personal learning goals.

Tutor/Learner Skills Development

Potential tutors and learners identified a range of workplace skills and interests including communication and customer service, and computer software packages such as Lotus 1-2-3, Wordperfect, and the internal computer programs. Many tutors and learners were able to identify and achieve specific workplace learning goals. Some examples of these included:

- a greater understanding of how their job functions impact on the jobs of others
- a familiarity with rates and bills of lading and a greater ability to detect errors
- development of transferable skills.

Employer Benefits

CPET management felt that the learning program was beneficial in meeting further training needs dictated by industry trends. Changing trends such as regulatory changes, technological changes, and customer service functions would require employees to have increased reading and writing skills.

CPET Management recognized that increasing the literacy skills of their workforce, would improve the effectiveness of training. Employees would heighten their problem solving skills and be able to read and interpret more information on their own. An increase in literacy skills would help employees adapt to process and technological changes more rapidly.

Employee Benefits

Employees indicated that their involvement in the program contributed to increased skills in basic computer literacy and a better ability to complete bills of lading and locate information on company forms. They also reported that participation in the program improved listening and communication skills in general, improved confidence on the job, improved the ability to process information more quickly, and contributed to a greater knowledge of CPET services.

Barriers to Implementing the Program

The implementation of a learning program presents certain challenges. It was important to identify any barriers in order to devise strategies to overcome them.

The company's restructuring was creating an understandable amount of fear an uncertainty for employees. So there was concern that employees would be reluctant t get involved in the program given the potential stress they might be under. Initially, many employees did not see how the program would benefit them.

There were also delays and schedule changes in the initial stages of the program which threatened employee interest and involvement.

Management, the union, and employees were sceptical about the possibility of successfully implementing a program with all the other changes that were occurring simultaneously.

Recognizing these challenges, the learning committee was able to define strategies to overcome barriers and successfully implement a program.

Monitoring and Evaluating the Program

Throughout the pilot project, Frontier College continued to work closely with the learning committee to facilitate the implementation and follow-up stages. At the mid-point of the pilot program Frontier College conducted a formative evaluation to ensure that matches were running smoothly and make necessary matching changes. In a small number of cases, tutors and learners were rematched.

A get-together was organized for tutors and learners. Frontier College staff attended along with members of the learning committee. The purpose of the meeting was to trouble-shoot and exchange success stories, and ensure that everyone taking part in the program met the members of the learning committee.

The final evaluation of the pilot program was promising. Although some tutors and learners had left the program, the remaining employees were deriving many benefits.

Out of 42 people interviewed to participate in the program, 34 were still involved at the time of the final evaluation. A number of reasons were cited for not completing the program including resignations and displacements, busy work schedules, incompatible matches, and transfers to head office. However, interest in the program remained strong and the majority of employees noted the advantages of continuing and expanding the program to other departments.

The remaining participants indicated that they developed more effective communication skills and greater self confidence. Tutors stated that they were developing planning and organizational skills from their experience.

Managers and supervisors also felt the program was successful and indicated that the program should be expanded to other CPET departments. Since the program began, they noticed increased computer usage, greater understanding of other areas of the department, and improved comraderie.

Current Program Status

Based on the results of the pilot program evaluation, CPET management decided to expand the Learning in the Workplace program to include employees in the vehicles and docks departments as well as head office staff.

Organizational Needs Assessments were conducted in the Fall of 1992 to determine the specific needs of the vehicles and docks departments and head office. CPET is also considering expanding the program to other Toronto area terminals as well as their Moncton, New Brunswick office.

A TENANT ASSOCIATION IN PUBLIC HOUSING: IS IT A MODEL FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT?

Susan Geddis, OISE

Abstract

Equipped with a "reform tool kit" which applies description, analysis, vision and strategy(Bunch 1987), a three-phase model of community development emerges from participation in a tenant association. Using my experiences with a public housing community in Southern Ontario, I suggest that the association provides a redefining of group identity.(Young, 1990)

Equipé d'un outil de travail "réforme" qui applique me description, une analyse, une vision et une stratégie, un modèle de développement de communauté en 3 phases émerge de la participation dans une association d'un locataire. Utilisant mon expérience dans le domaine de la communauté publique d'habitation du sud de L'Ontario, je suggère que l'association procure me redéfinition de l'indentité du groupe.(Young, 1990)

Introduction

Community organizing among women living in public housing has made public, issues such as unfair rent hikes, redevelopment projects that destroy low income housing, owner neglect of tenant units and distribution of resources to address basic needs. In the mainstream community, non group members such as the media, politicians, and some community workers label and essentialize the group identity of women on welfare as being incapable, illiterate, untrustworthy, deceitful and apathetic. How can these women surface issues that are buried within a state controlled system of dependency and paternalism? Is there potential within this community to work toward a vision of community interdependency and agency that they themselves have constructed from their own initiative?

This paper applies Bunch's (1987) model for theory building using description, analysis, vision and strategy to explore community development with women in public housing. Young suggests that a redefinition of group is essential for changing the stereotypes that accompany such groups. In this case, a tenant association provided this opportunity. In the description I attempt to name my location as a middle class women and how the privilege awarded me also locates the oppression of women on welfare. The analysis makes use of Young's theory of oppression to make visible how women suffer both as women and as recipients of welfare. The vision has been constructed by members of the tenant association. A three phase strategy has evolved from my observing the growth of the association in the public housing community of Riverview. From this, signs of change present evidence of a changing group identity which supports the women's efforts to address issues of oppression particular to their situation.

A Description Unpacked

Peggy McIntosh(1990) examines white privilege and its relationship to racism by specific examples that penetrate her consciousness. As a safely married, middle class property owner with children, I had to acknowledge that many of the items in her "invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions" resided in mine.(438) From the stories I hear at Riverview and the women I meet, I became conscious of my class privilege and how everyday events determine that privilege. Some examples follow.

1. I can use cheques, cash or credit cards unimpeded and obtain credit easily. At Riverview, Jane whose husband works part time, is refused credit, not because of her credit status, but when she gives her address.
2. I can remain oblivious to the way in which language identifies me as middle class and gains respect for me.

Members of the tenant association are confounded and depressed by the legalese of funding applications and my job is often to translate the intention and meaning of the language.

3. On the last day of every month, I can still afford to eat what I eat at the end of the month. Food banks allow any individual to access it once a month. Food by the end of the month is scarce and always the same. The nearest food bank is 5 miles from Tina's unit.

Analysis: Not Apathetic, Oppressed

Canadian statistics from 1987 reveal that 59% of the poor are women and that 85% of single parents are mothers with at least 33% of these living solely on social assistance.(Harman 1992:6) A theory of oppression would not only have to describe the specific context of women's lives, but in such a way as to decenter the burden of blame away from the woman herself. Young(1990) makes immediate connections to oppression and deprivation naming the categories as marginalization, exploitation, cultural imperialism, powerlessness and violence.

Exploitation

Workers of the state gain entry to the community by means legitimated and authorized by the state. The community relations worker(CRW), the tenants support services officer from municipal Housing, the chaplain, myself, mother's allowance workers, property manager and others are put in place to meet community needs. By reexamining exploitation in a way that might normalize or reveal a consistent pattern, Young explains that workers in a capitalist society create injustices by exercising "their capacities under the control, according to the purposes of and for the benefit of other people".(Young, 1990:49). In other words, one is exploited when the benefits of a worker's labour returns to the state and not to the people for whom it is intended. In Riverview, the state workers employed to consider the needs and requirements of the women actually benefit the state by controlling the women's lives through rules and regulations and collect wages for that. The workers form a state mechanism. Jesse, for example, compares the control that the worker has over her life to the control that her parents once had. In fact, it is so restrictive, that she considers returning to an abusive husband (Blouin 1992:64). Another talks about the way in which information about legal rights are withheld by the community relations worker who doesn't think she has the intellectual ability to handle it. Even when an opportunity for tenant input is fostered by the state, it is compromised. Asked by the tenant association to assist in completing a funding application, I mistakenly received guidelines for filling in the application by a empathetic community relations worker. When another worker saw them surface in my hand at a joint meeting, she was angry that the guidelines had been shared with the community when they were really meant for the CRW to administer. She hoped that I had not given free reign to the community to use the guidelines, inferring that control of the application would still remain in the hands of the worker and not the community. The dilemma is also mine. Do I want to work and that would probably be for the state or do I want to stack my cards with the association which may or may not continue to be a wageless relationship?

Marginalization

Not only does the system of labour ignore them as potentially productive, but training strategies for women on social assistance start with getting grade 12, a laborious and non-skilled exercise and, in addition, ignoring on site daycare needs as part of the training. A prominent women's job centre in the city recently moved to larger premises with the proviso that day care would be installed on sight. Three years later, there is still no facility. Marlene is a tenant who now volunteers as a daycare provider but would like to pursue day care employment. Training subsidies at the local college are only available to students willing to go full time and do upgrading. Does a mother of three children need full time upgrading to train for something she is doing free of charge? How does a single mother who has taken upgrading enter the job market at a level that allows her to meet survival needs and manage her family? Middle class literacy programs may be yet another system of control put in place to maintain the marginalization and domination of the poor.

Powerlessness

By using the status of professionals as a benchmark, Young explains how opportunities afforded these workers reflect the expansiveness nature of powerlessness women on welfare experience. For example, powerlessness expands and progresses because as expertise is acquired and recognized by those higher up the ladder, the worker will experience a rise in status. However, this leaves the oppressed ever farther behind on an individual basis. As welfare recipients, there is no criteria for progress or moving ahead. Secondly, unlike workers who have day to day work autonomy, these women consistently stand under professionals, and have no decision making over others or potential for same. For example, at a parent-teacher meeting, professionals declared that Freda's 11 year old daughter would be a factory worker, maybe order picking or something like that. It was not a collaborative decision, but based on disruptive behaviour and I suggest, on impressions of Freda as a parent. In the third instance, professionalism pervades public and private life in that professionals reproduce professionals. This means that someone on welfare employed at the local donut shop will some day see her children working beside her with little chance of social mobility.(Payne and Abbott, 1990) Socialization, neighbourhood status, language, food, decor, and clothes all indicate membership in the correct occupational location in society.

Cultural Imperialism

In Young's view, adherence to a 'dominant norm' renders a group invisible and labels it as other. Alfred Memmi's description of the colonizer and the colonized echoes the way in which middle class ideology constructs welfare recipients. He characterizes the colonized as a thief(96) recalling recent accusations in the press of welfare fraud. Such accusations are never individualized but are geared to a group of people who cheat us--the middle class. In contrast, corporate plundering of tax dollars, is justified by real voices and government support for the good of everyone. What information did the press use to legitimate accusations of fraud against welfare recipients and just who is involved? *Memmi also notes that as the colonized is denied power, they lose* interest in it and have no sense of owning it. While Iglitzin characterizes mothers on welfare as socialized into passivity, docility, dependence and resignation, she neglects to state emphatically that naming apathy is itself a control mechanism reproducing oppression. Employees of the state and others speak on behalf of the women, confident they know what they need or how they should live. Cultural imperialism intensifies. There is little chance of becoming free of it.

Violence

Acts of violence against women in public housing are easier to hide because the whole community is under the constant threat of eviction and loss of a secure place to live. A women prefers to remain invisible and will not protest given her dependency on the state for basic necessities. The stories of sexual harassment in mainstream society are many and considering the degree of powerlessness in this community, it is undoubtedly prevalent here. Disabled women are doubly burdened as Mae was. Deserted with two children, she is visually, hearing and speech impaired which means warnings about violence in the complex do not reach her. How can the state legitimately place a disabled woman in public housing knowing that the identity she is forced to assume will result in more violence and injustice than she already suffers?

Ambiguity within the Categories

As informative as Young's categories are, they do not deal with the oppression that the community, by being isolated and by being invisible to the larger community, unwittingly imposes on each other. Within communities, relations of domination are present not out of a desire for control, but out of a desire to maintain tenancy. Don't rock the boat, don't speak out! Don't name issues! Don't be a trouble maker! Fear acts as a control mechanism within the community through social relations. Tenant association workers may be threatened with eviction, with danger to their homes or with other misdemeanours by other tenants. How can strategies for a vision address all of these situations?

Vision
Bunch's notion of a possible vision for a new social order hinges on "maximum freedom for each person to determine her own life" (Bunch:109). Young suggests that while associations voluntarily bring people together as individuals who are already formed, "groups..constitute individuals"(45). In other words, the association accepts individuals as having a separate identity and as formed before becoming part of the association. Social groups normalize and determine to some extent how the individual will live within a set of social relations. Membership in the group is determined, to some extent, by attributes, norms and stereotypes. The growth of the tenant association could be seen as an opportunity for individual tenants to reconstruct their identity in another context that may attribute to them characteristics such as Bunch describes. A group defined by its oppression does not necessarily need to fragment into individual rights and freedoms to change the group identity. Reorganizing into a group that has control over some independent decisions may reconstruct group identity in a different way. The Riverview community is attempting to start this reconstruction and a parallel initiative at the local authority has complimented the process.

Strategy:Tenants Organize
Self initiated tenant associations provide a structure which foster participation for community development. Imported from the United States, tenants there began to organize after the recession in the early 80's. Poverty was escalating, management lacked both the will and the funds to maintain buildings and social problems threatened life. In 1989, a class conscious community relations worker who had lived many years on welfare suggested an association for Riverview. The growth of this association allowed members of the community to work within the state imposed framework to start to organize their members around new definitions of group. The model is as follows.

During the first phase, the association develops an infrastructure to communicate with the community. It considers the purpose of the association, activities it will undertake, who it would like to involve both in activities and in the association. Typically, as in Riverview, associations see themselves as social clubs initially but as more people risk membership, and as issues start to surface from the floor at community meetings, the association must address unanswered questions. I supported these questions, sometimes reframing them to provide another view but always left the tenants with the decision to make the next step. Strategies, as Bunch notes, move directly into questions of "changing reality"(245). My role was to be consistent with that and to make it clear that control could and should originate with the tenants.

The next phase, a past president of the association called the public relation's phase during which the elected executive worked toward maximum community participation. The central issue highlighted by a UN study is "redistribution of control over resources and power in favour of those..excluded". This phase involved bringing the community on line at the same time that the people's concerns are collected and recorded to be worked on later. Specific strategies included inviting, for the first time, community resources such as the police to a public meeting. Using grant money to access multiethnic interpreters, knocking on every door to invite people to join the association and expressing publicly the association's commitment to community accountability.

The third phase I originally called the social action phase, but I have renamed it the community development phase. State-tenants relations are being examined by association members strategizing for their own development. They are linking up with the local housing authority to name their concerns, and to devise an action plan that would suggest decision making and decision sharing opportunities for the community in conjunction with the authority.

Conclusion: Signs of Change\Signs of Action

The association initiated a discussion of the articles and by-laws trying to understand how each would operate in practice and whether that reflected community concern. Planning Together a government initiative is designed to involve tenants in decisions that will improve their quality of life. Tenants are questioning the plan and demanding participation. The association has been contacted by a Tenant Federation to discuss the rights and entitlements of tenants.

Bibliography

Baxter, Sheila. 1988. No Way to Live: Poor Women Speak Out. Vancouver, B.C: New Start Books.

Blouin, Barbara. 1992. Welfare workers and clients:patterns of sexism and paternalism. Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme, 12, 64-65.

Bunch, Charlotte. 1987. The reform tool kit. In Passionate Politics, 103-117. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Harman, Lesley D. 1992. The feminization of poverty: An old problem with a new name. Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme, 12, 6-9.

Iglitzin, Lynne. 1988. A case study in patriarchal politics. In A Portrait of Marginality: The Political Behaviour of the American Woman, New York: David McIntyre. McIntosh, Peggy. 1990. White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. Independent School Writer, 438-44.

McWilliams, Rita. 1988. Revolution in the projects. Reason, 24-30.

Payne, Geoff and Pamela Abbott. 1990. Beyond male mobility models. In Social Mobility of Women: Beyond Male Mobility Models, 159-174. Philadelphia, London, New York: Falmer.

Young, Iris. 1990. Five faces of oppression. In Justice and the Politics of Difference, 35-47. Princeton, NJ:Princeton.

DUTCH 'PILLARIZATION': A STRATEGY FOR MULTICULTURAL ADULT EDUCATION?

Bastiaan van Gent Ph.D.
Department of Adult Education
University of Leiden
The Netherlands

Abstract

In the Netherlands, the term 'verzuiling' [pillarization] refers to the fact that Liberalism, Protestantism, Catholicism and Socialism have given rise to four separate societal structures (pillars). Within each pillar, most adult education took place. Can a similar structure now provide education for Islamic immigrants?

Résumé

Aux Pays-Bas le mot 'verzuiling' [colonnisation] indique le fait que dans le passé le libéralisme, le protestantisme, le catholicisme et le socialisme ont conduit à la construction de quatre structures sociales séparées (colonnes). Dans chaque colonne l'éducation des adultes a eu lieu. Une structure semblable peut-elle fournir à présent une éducation aux immigrants islamiques?

1. Introduction

In 1971, the Canadian House of Commons adopted a policy of multiculturalism. Cultural groups were to be encouraged to maintain or develop themselves as distinctive entities; at the same time, the need of mutual acceptance was stressed. The government promised to assist members of the different cultural groups to participate fully in Canadian society, while in the case of immigrants the 'learning of official languages' was encouraged.

At first, services provided for immigrants by volunteers both from their own ethnic group and from the host country allowed a great amount of flexibility for learning. More recently, however, 'Canadian policies of multiculturalism have been transferred to some extent from the Learning to the Educational Domain, first through language classes provided in the evenings for adults and subsequently through the introduction of "heritage language programs" for children in the formal system' (Thomas 1991: 73).

In Canada, the promotion of multiculturalism has evoked diverse reactions and even open conflicts. Some have argued that the ideology of multiculturalism was propagated in order to diminish the tensions between the anglophone and francophone communities by stressing the importance of other cultural groups. Others considered multiculturalism as the only alternative to an assimilation policy that, for many reasons, could not be pursued. According to some academics, the feeling of belonging to a specific cultural group may have many psychological advantages. Others have drawn attention to the risk that the maintenance of ethnic boundaries can result in the conservation of existing patterns of cultural dominance (Lundy & Warme 1990: 286; Berry 1991; Adam 1992).

In the Netherlands, a similar discussion is taking place on the reintroduction of 'pillarization' as a strategy for multicultural adult education. A report on the historical backgrounds of Dutch 'pillarization' and on the present debate can perhaps throw more light on the advantages and disadvantages of multiculturalism in Canada.

2. Dutch 'pillarization' and adult education

In 1848, a constitution intended to promote a moderate parliamentary democracy was established in the Netherlands. Among several innovations, it included the right of association and gatherings. During that same year, the Liberals became the most influential force in Dutch politics. The emergence of Catholics and orthodox Calvinists who for a long time had played a subordinate role in Dutch society, took place during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The leaders of these two groups made thankful use of the right of association and gatherings to build their own voluntary organizations and thus to mobilize their constituencies. Towards the end of the century, a fourth political and ideological power emerged, the Socialist workers' movement.

The first time that mention was made of the 'four pillars supported by the four ideologies among the Dutch people' was in 1938 and referred to the fact that the diverse Liberal, Catholic, Protestant and Socialist perspectives had each given rise to four separate organizational structures, covering, among other sectors, many areas of cultural life in the Netherlands. The 'pillarization' of Dutch society became an object of study in the 1950s, and has since given rise to serious differences of opinion among political scientists and sociologists (Blom 1985).

There are those who wish to restrict the term 'pillar' to the two interest groups on a denominational basis which date from the nineteenth century. For others, the phenomenon dates from a much older period. They locate the early roots of the Catholic, Protestant and Liberal pillars as far back as the 'Eighty Years War' against Spain (1568-1648), and the struggle between Catholicism, the Reformation and Humanism which ended with the formation of an independent Dutch nation. In the eyes of many, however, pillarization is more specifically related to the 'school struggle' which began in the early nineteenth century and was only pacified in 1917, when a constitutional change was agreed by the warring parties (Lijphart 1968; Stuurman 1983).

Although the Christian character of public instruction had been determined in 1815 with the establishment of the monarchy, many Catholics and Protestants came to express their objections to this arrangement. Catholics turned against the fact that the inspection of the public elementary schools was largely in the hands of clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church. Orthodox Calvinists, who had separated from this rather liberal church during the 1830s, wanted the opportunity to disseminate their religious beliefs in the elementary schools. The fight for the right to their own educational institutions with a denominational identity was pursued by the Catholics and even more by the Calvinists. The 'school struggle' also brought Catholics and Calvinists closer together, and as a result, they became important factors within the political system of the Netherlands and the network of voluntary associations.

Some scholars regard pillarization as a struggle for emancipation. The Catholic and Calvinist 'small people' had remained in a inferior position until well into the nineteenth century; the school became for their leaders the ideal way to improve the status of their flock. This proposition has recently come under attack from those who are of the opinion that pillarization was less a question of emancipation and more the result of a policy to integrate the Catholic and Calvinist workers within denominational organizations in order to keep them away from Socialist sympathies. Previously, others had already pointed to the passivity of large numbers of the population within the harness of the denominational organizations. This had resulted in their leaders having it all their own way, while, at the same time, being able to manage the national affairs in mutual deliberations at the governmental top (Daalder 1974).

The consequence was a 'mutual penetration' of state and society, although each ideological interest group took great care that its own numerous organizations would in no way be at risk. This also applied to the many private associations in the area of adult education which had been established in due course, since each group not only wished to have its own political party and trade union, but also its own social service, press, school and university that could ensure the mobilization of its constituency.

For a long time, the policy of the Dutch government with respect to the field of popular education has been that of 'following' private initiatives. Given the strongly developed pillarization of Dutch society there was no wish to disturb the peace in the field of education which had with much difficulty been achieved in 1917. In 1965, however, the Ministry of Social Work which was established in

1952, was reorganized in the form of a Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work. A broad welfare policy began to take shape in this period now that the government was of the opinion that 'more provisions for cultural and social welfare are necessary alongside the provisions for material prosperity' (Van Gent 1987: 291). Social work and important parts of adult education became the responsibility of the new Ministry.

The system of pillarization had not only brought about an explosive growth in the field of social work and adult education, but had also changed its character. Every social group of any significance demanded the right to financial support and the state was merely expected to distribute subsidies on the basis of objective criteria. An obvious criterion was the degree of expertise which would ensure that the money was not wasted. The new science of andragogy was seen as a vehicle to train the required professionals in the field of social work and adult education (Van Gent 1992: 250)

In the meanwhile, there was a growing dissatisfaction with the existing order. Alongside the traditional voluntary associations which had achieved great power, more informal organizations such as 'alternative institutions', critical 'action groups' and 'new social movements' emerged in the areas of social work and adult education. Within the established organizations, serious tensions arose between the largely volunteer management committees and the paid workers who wished to pursue their own goals on the basis of their ideological commitment and professional aspirations. Different groups of young people provocatively disturbed the political, social and cultural climate which had already been deeply influenced by a demand for more participation, a continuing secularization, and changes in behavioral norms. As a result, a process of 'de-pillarization' took place in the Netherlands. The traditional structure of pillars that had supported the governmental roof, started to break down. The new Christian-Democratic party, resulting from a merger between the main Catholic and Protestant formations, succeeded, however, in retaining the political centre. Many of their voluntary organizations managed to survive in the middle ground between the state and the individual.

3. 'Re-pillarization' or cultural integration?

The economic prosperity of the sixties and the final stages of decolonization brought many immigrants to the Netherlands, where there were large numbers of jobs available for the unskilled. The international oil crisis of the seventies, however, caused depression and unemployment; the ill-trained immigrant workers were the first to suffer. When the Dutch government granted them the right to be reunited with their families, the Netherlands turned into a problematic 'multicultural' society. The provision of education for both young people and adults within the 'ethnic minorities' became a major political issue.

In Christian-Democratic circles, a plea for 're-pillarization' has recently been heard. One of their main ideologues, the sociologist Zijderveld, claimed that pillarization had not disappeared completely from the societal stage; 'essential sectors of our society are still pillarized: education, health care and the mass media' (Zijderveld 1991: 8). The same strategy that had been useful for the emancipation of Calvinists and Catholics in the past, could now promote the emancipation of, for example, the different ethnic groups that share the Islamic belief. At first, a separate Islamic pillar would enhance the political and social influence of these immigrants. From a sociological point of view, 'it is then to be expected that the next Islamic generations will modernize through education, emancipation and integration, and that their ideology will secularize, just as it has happened to the denominational pillars of the Christians' (Zijderveld 1991: 8).

Conversely, the liberals, who were never fond of pillarization, favour cultural integration of the ethnic communities without any detour. Their parliamentary leader, Bolkestein, has asked the Turkish and Moroccan immigrants who seek permanent residency in the Netherlands to accept such principles as separation of state and church, freedom of expression and individual rights; 'if everyone's cultural identity is allowed to remain intact, integration will suffer' (Bolkestein

1991: 9). A new Islamic pillar would become an obstacle to effective integration into the Dutch way of life.

Within the Muslim community itself, the matter of an Islamic pillar is also being discussed. On the one hand, the raising of such a pillar is considered to be a right cause. In February 1993, for example, plans were made public to found a national Muslim political party. On the other hand, there is, for a number of reasons, much doubt about the potential effectiviness of an Islamic pillar. The majority of the Muslims in the Netherlands has already undergone a profound process of secularization, the Islamic community is rather heterogeneous and its available religious and intellectual leadership is small. According to Shadid (1992: 9) 'Only a combination of an Islamic pillar with a governmental policy of positive action can realize the socio-economic and cultural emancipation and integration of Muslims in the Netherlands'.

It is obvious that the debate on pillarization and its consequences for adult education, among other things, is still going on in the Netherlands. For some, re-pillarization is a promising phoenix; for others, it is an outmoded and even dangerous device.

References

Adam, H. (1992). The politics of identity: nationalism, patriotism, and multiculturalism. Journal of Ethno-Development. 1. 2. 10-22.
Berry, J. W. (1991). Sociopsychological Costs and Benefits of Multiculturalism (Working Paper No. 24). Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada.
Blom, J.C.H. (1985). Onderzoek naar verzuiling in Nederland. In Blom, J.C.H. & Misset, C.J. (Eds.), Broeders Sluit u aan (pp. 10-29). Den Haag: Bataafsche Leeuw.
Bolkestein, F. (1991). Islamitische immigranten moeten integreren. NRC Handelsblad. January 10, 1992. 9.
Daalder, H. (1974). Politisering en Lijdelijkheid in de Nederlandse Politiek. Assen: Van Gorcum.
Lundy, L.P. & Warme, B.D. (1990). Sociology: A window on the world. Scarborough: Nelson.
Lijphart, A. (1968). Verzuiling, Pacificatie en Kentering in de Nederlandse Politiek. Amsterdam: De Bussy.
Shadid, W.A. (1992). Een islamitische zuil is onhaalbaar. NRC Handelsblad. January 6, 1992. 9.
Stuurman, S. (1983). Verzuiling, Kapitalisme en Patriarchaat. Nijmegen: SUN.
Thomas, A.M. (1991). Beyond Education: A new perspective on society's management of learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Van Gent, B. (1987). Government and voluntary organizations in the Netherlands. International Journal of Lifelong Education. 6. 4. 279-294.
Van Gent, B. (1992). Back to pedagogy: the rise and decline of Dutch andragogy. In Blunt, A. (Ed.), Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Adult Education Research Conference (pp. 247-254). Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan.
Zijderveld, A.C. (1991). Minderheden in Nederland meest gebaat bij verzuiling. NRC Handelsblad. December 23, 1991. 8.

ADULT EDUCATION AS A MATURING FIELD?
EVIDENCE FROM CITATION PRACTICES

Marie A. Gillen
St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, NS

Abstract: This paper identifies publications most frequently cited in one particular journal during a 10 year period. The author suggests that citation data can provide information about the structure of a field and the nature of its community.

Resumé: Ce mémoire identifie les publications citées le plus fréquemment dans une revue en particulier au cours d'une période de dix ans. L'auteur soutient que ces donnés peuvent fournir un e'clairissage concernant la structure de la science de l'androgogie ainsi que la nature de sa communauté.

Do citations fairly represent impact of researchers on other researchers? Do they provide important data about the structure of a field and the nature of its community? Although some have raised basic conceptual and methodological concerns about citations frequency data (Porter, 1977) or have offered some cautions about citation usage (Silverman, 1985), there is a vast literature on the meaning and value of citations that measure the impact or influence of published research work on others' contributions (Budd, 1988; Schaeffer & Sulyma, 1979; Smart, 1979). In a limited, but wholly acceptable sense, "citation rates correlate quite well with other presumed indicators of quality, such as peer ratings, honorific awards, and the like" (Schaeffer & Sulymer, 1979, p.33).

Researchers write not only to give expression to their ideas, but also to communicate these ideas to others. Study of citation patterns offers an enticing way to evaluate the research productivity of individual researchers and the impact this productivity has had on others. This is one way "to enrich our understanding of how knowledge-use decisions are made" (Silverman, 1985, p. 181). Actually, citations are the only enduring record that an article or book has been used by others; it may be the best practical indicator of the worth of research.

Examination of citations in journals is not a new practice. Citation frequency data have been used to assess the significance of contributions of individuals (Boshier & Pickard, 1979), academic departments (Schaeffer & Sulyma, 1979) and scholarly journals (Budd, 1988; Smart, 1983). It is a methodology that has proved attractive to those investigating the communicative process in scholarly disciplines because of the "unobtrusive nonreactive aspect of the methodology" (Budd, 1988, p. 180). It permits one to examine researchers' behaviour, such as their ability to make use of others' research for grounding or justifying their own work, without being brought face to face with the researcher. Citation data, too, can provide information about the structure of a field and the nature of its community. For a field like adult education, which is struggling with defining itself, this is important as "the professionalising process requires the building of a substantial body of supporting knowledge which practitioners can use in undertaking practical affairs" (Houle, 1984, p. 45). Citation data is one practical way of determining whether or not this is happening in a field.

This paper developed out of a collaborative departmental project, which had as its goal the identification of educational concepts, notions, and theories of adult education--particularly foundational ones--as possible curriculum organizers. Three distinct yet complementary approaches to the task were taken. The first approach entailed sending a questionnaire to a selection of Canadian adult educators listed in the Dobson (1984) report. From a list of 59 journals regularly searched by the Department for articles relating to some area or aspect of adult education they were asked, firstly, to check those journals which they found most useful in their study of adult education. Secondly, they were asked to list any additional relevant journals. Lastly, they were asked to name those three journals which they found most useful. The Adult Education Quarterly received the highest rating.

Earlier, Boshier and Pickard (1979) had studied the citation patterns of articles published in Adult Education 1968-1977. This study begins where they left off and studies the next 10 years. In the initial step Volumes 28 through 38 of Adult Education/Adult Education Quarterly were examined to prepare a master list of all citations and to organize this information in alphabetical order by authors' last names. All references to an author (i.e. single, co-author, self-citations) were included and type of citation identified. Once this step was completed, only those authors with 12 or more citations were considered for further analysis.

In the second step each author with 12 or more citations was considered separately using the Boshier and Pickard (1979) formula. Each single citation and self-citation were assigned one Full Publication Equivalent (F.P.E.). Articles written in collaboration with others, whether one other or many others, were assigned 0.5 F.P.E. The 20 most frequently cited authors are listed in Table 1.

Because there was a tie for 20th place, 21 names are actually on the list. Knowles, for example, received 92.5 F.P.Es. His total citation count was 95, but this number was reduced by 2.5 when the 0.5 formula was applied to co-authored articles. In Knowles' case, two works cited once each and one work cited three times were co-authored. However, Houle's total count and his F.P.E. remained the same because all his citations were single-authored. Some authors having more than twelve citations on first count were eliminated when the F.P.E. formula was applied. The data were examined further to determine which of the authors' publications were cited most frequently. Because of the sheer volume of material to be considered, books and articles were listed separately. In the Boshier and Pickard article these had been listed together.

TABLE 1
MOST FREQUENTLY CITED AUTHORS IN VOLUMES 28-38 OF THE JOURNAL*

Author	Number of Citations (F.P.E.'s) in Vols. 28-38 Adult Education, Adult Education Quarterly
Knowles, M. S.	92.5
Houle, C. O.	63
Boshier, R. W.	54
Knox, A. B.	54
Tough, A. M.	47.5
Darkenwald, G. G.	38.5
Brookfield, S.	35
Verner, C.	33.5
Mesirow, J.	30
Lindeman, E. C.	28.5
Freire, P.	25
Cross, K. P.	22.5
Heimstra, R.	22
McClusky, H. Y.	20
Rubenson, K.	19.5
Carlson, R. A.	18
Kidd, J. R.	17.5
London, J.	15.5
Bergevin, P. E	15
Long, H. B.	14.5
MacKenzie, L.	14.5

Books receiving 10 or more citations are: (number of citations is noted in parenthesis) Knowles, M., (1970), The Modern Practice of Adult Education (50); Tough, A. M., (1971, 1979), The Adult's Learning Projects (24); Johnston, J., & Rivera, R., (1965), Volunteers For Learning (19); Houle, C. O., (1972), The Design of Education (18); Lindeman, E., (1926), The Meaning of Adult Education (18); Houle, C. O., (1984), Continuing Learning In The Professions (16); Houle, C. O., (1961), The Inquiring Mind (15); Cross, K. P., (1981), Adults As Learners (13); Freire, P., (1970), Pedagogy of the Oppressed (13); Kidd, J. R., (1959), How Adults Learn (13); Mezirow, J., Darkenwald, G. G., & Knox, A. B., (1975), Last Gamble On Education (13); Bergevin, P. E., (1967), A Philosophy for Adult Education (12); Knowles, M., (1973, 1978), The Adult Learner: The Neglected Species (12); Darkenwald, G. G. & Merriam, S.B., (1982), Adult Education: Foundations of Practice (11).

In the Boshier and Pickard (1979) list, The Modern Practice of Adult Education is ranked second with 14 citations whereas in this study it is ranked first with 50 citations. The Johnstone and Rivera study moved from first to third place but the number of citations remained about the same. Houle's, The Inquiring Mind moved from fifth to seventh place. Lindeman's The Meaning of Education, moved from sixth to fourth place. And Freire's, Pedagogy of the Oppressed moved from third to ninth place. Five other books listed above also appear on the Boshier and Pickard (1979) list. Nine new titles surfaced though these are not necessarily new publications; for example, Kidd's, How Adults Learn and Bergevin's, A Philosophy of Adult Education. Interest in Kidd's work might be related to his sudden death during this period, a time when attention was drawn to his significant contribution to the field.

Articles receiving 6 or more citations were all published in Adult Education with the exception of Brookfield's article which was published in Studies in Adult Education. These articles are: Boshier, R. W. (1973), "Educational Participation and Dropout," 23, 255-282 (11); Tough, A. M. (1978), "Major Learning Efforts," 28, 250-263 (10); Brookfield, S., (1981), "Independent Adult Learning," 13(1), 15-27 (9); Mezirow, J., (1981), "A theory of Adult Learning and Education," 32, 3-24 (9); Penland, P., (1979), "Self-Initiated Learning". 29, 170-179 (9); Boshier, R. W., (1971), "Motivation Orientation of Adult Education Participants," 21, 3-26 (8); Boshier, R. W. & Pickard, L., (1979), "Citation Pattern of Articles Published in Adult Education 1968-1977." 30, 34-51. (8); Long, H. B. & Agyekum, S. K., (1974), "Adult Education 1964-1973," 24, 99-120 (8); Boshier, R. W., (1977), "Motivational Orientation Revisited." 27, 89-115 (7); Mckenzie, L., (1977), The Issue of Andragogy." 27, 225-229 (7); Rubenson, K., (1982), "Adult Education Research." 32, 57-74 (6).

Only three articles appeared on the Boshier and Pickard (1979) list, and one of these, "Motivation Orientation of Adult Education Participants: A Factor Analysis Exploration of Houle's Typology," appears again. From this fact one might conclude that books have more enduring value than articles.

All authors of books and articles listed above are considered adult educators and their work is classified as primary literature (Boshier and Packard, 1979). More is said about primary literature in the next section of this paper.

Discussion

Chubin and Moitra (1975) suggest that "citation counts are taken to represent a crude structure of formal communication links" (p. 425). They go on to say that until educators can find a way of reconstructing the intellectual history of a speciality--for example, adult education--in which researchers publish the reasons they cite the works they do, "we cannot afford to abandon citation counts" (p. 439). Smart and Elton (1981) point out "though the evidence is not conclusive, confidence in citation frequency measures as a rough indicator of the quality of scientific contribution appears warranted". (p. 400). In other words, citation rates are a single measure of quality, a complex concept, and should be viewed with caution.

A host of questions accrue from the findings of this study. First, what does citation frequency data tell us? Plecas and Sork (1986) make a case for the importance of knowledge production and theory building in the field of adult education. They go on to point out how those in the field literally work against themselves by straying all too frequently from their main function. Although I agree strongly with their argument, I believe that knowledge production and theory building is but one perspective. The other perspective is knowledge use which is "typically conceived of as the relationship between developers of new information and ideas and those whose actions may be informed by scholar's products" (Silverman, 1985, p. 181). In the case of authors listed in Table 1, the relationship has been a very strong one.

Multiple citations to Knowles' work, for example, are found in most articles being examined in this study. The articles in which Knowles' citations are used span a wide spectrum of topics: counselling expertise (Even, 1979), teacher behaviour (Kerwin, 1981), adulthood tasks (Merriam & Mullins, 1981), Swedish municipal adult education (Hoghielm, 1986) and casual television viewing (Stokes & Pankowsky, 1988), to name but a few examples. Some articles deal directly with Knowles' ideas, either in whole like Elias' (1979) critique of andragogy, or in part like the articles by Plecas and Sork (1986) and Beder and Carrea (1988).

An examination of each Knowles' citations is beyond the parameters of this study. But a cursory overview suggests that the 92.5 citation frequency figure signifies more than a simple number count and highlights the importance of the context in which these citations were made. This fact aside, what the data portrays about Knowles is that he is a significant figure in the field of adult education and that his work, particularly The Modern Practice of Adult Education continues to receive a significant number of citations per year, more than 25 years after it was first published.

The data confirms that other authors—like Houle, Boshier, and Knox—continue to influence the field and that certain books might be called classics because of the enduring interest in them over the years. It also confirms that the number and percentage of references to primary literature has increased from 59 percent in Volume 27 of Adult Education (Boshier & Pickard, 1979) to 67 percent in Volume 37 and 62 percent in Volume 38. Boshier and Pickard define primary literature as "concepts, processes and data clearly identified with adult education" (p. 36). This evidence supports their hypothesis that, "as the discipline emerges, researchers will place increasing reliance on concepts and process developed by other scholars in the discipline" (p. 35).

In addition, the citations indicate that new people are beginning to make an impact in the field. These writers are highly cited, but whether their work will go unnoticed and disappear rapidly or whether it will endure because it is of sufficient quality only the passage of time will tell.

Do citations fairly represent impact of researchers on other researchers? In some ways the answer is yes and in others no. Schaeffer and Sulyma (1979) report "more and more the question of a paper's 'impact'—indexed by citations—has come to the fore so that now we would guess, the latter would be more accepted on 'face' validity grounds alone as a 'true' measure of quality" (P. 34). On the negative side, some good research has had an impact on other researchers but is never widely circulated, because the reports in which it appears has limited circulation. This is never measured by citation counts. This frequently is the case with many research studies relating to women's issues, which often have relevance to adult education.

Do citations provide important data about the structure of a field and the nature of its community? The answer in my opinion is an unequivocal yes, recognizing of course that "it would be foolhardily to maintain that this measure, any more than any other, is perfectly free of the possibilities of abuse." (Schaeffer & Sulyma, 1979, p.35). To assist in the development of curriculum, the information provided by citation frequency data is invaluable. It provides the names of the most frequently cited authors, books, and articles, but more importantly it provides a vehicle for identifying educational concepts, notions, theories of adult education—particularly fundamental ones which then become curriculum organizers. In summary, these results are useful in enhancing an understanding of the knowledge-diffusion and knowledge-utilization processes in the field of adult education, an important part of any professional training.

These findings are less than clearcut, because the numerical nature of citation frequency data implies that more equates to better; this is not always the case, as one well knows. "One of the problems of presenting materials in tabular form is that information tends to acquire a pseudo-scientific reality" (Arlin, 1978, p. 12).

My speculations only touch the surface of the many possibilities for inquiry raised by this study. Future researchers unquestionably will be able to ask new and more productive questions about the nature of scholarly publications in the field of adult education, especially questions relating to knowledge use. They will employ methods which will overcome some of the limitations inherent in this present study.

"The race for professional accomplishment therefore has no finish line. But as an occupational group raises the level of its performance of various characteristics, its right to call itself a profession increases, as does its right to expect society to view it as one." (Houle, 1984, p. 74). Citation frequency analysis is one way of finding out where the field of adult education is in the race. Does it provide sufficient evidence that the field is maturing? Given what is presented in this paper, the answer is affirmative.

REFERENCES

Arlin, M. (1978). Quality and impact of scholarly journal publication in Canadian faculties of education. **Canadian Journal of Education**, 3(1), 1-17.

Budd, J. M. (1988). A bibliometric analysis of higher education literature. **Research in Higher Education**, 28, 180-190.

Chubin, D. E., & Moitra, S. D. (1975). Content analysis of references: Adjunct or alternative to citation counting? **Social Studies of Science**, 5, 423-441.

Porter, A. L. (1977). Citation analysis: Queries and caveats. **Social Studies of Science**, 7, 257-67.

Schaeffer, D. L., & Sulyma, I. M. (1979). Citation rates and the quality of Canadian psychology departments. **Canadian Psychological Review**, 23, 22-37.

Silverman, R. J. (1984). Higher education as a maturing field? Evidence from referencing practices. **Research in Higher Education**, 23, 151-183.

Smart, J. C. & Elton, C. F. (1981). Structural characteristics and citations rates of education journals. **American Educational Research Journal**, 18, 399-413.

TITRE : Les conséquences pour l'adulte du retour aux études en milieu universitaire et leurs variations selon les caractéristiques de l'adulte

AUTEUR : GUINDON, Michel Ph.D.

INSTITUTION :
Université de Montréal
Hautes Études Commerciales
5255 ave Decelles
Montréal (Québec)
H3T 1V6

RÉSUMÉ : Dans les travaux européens et américains, on observe des variations importantes des conséquences pour l'adulte d'un retour aux études selon ses caractéristiques. Nous nous sommes demandé si le même type de variation se produit lorsque l'indicateur est le fonctionnement global de l'individu au cours d'un retour à des études universitaires de deuxième cycle.

SUMMARY : European and American researchs indicated important return to school's consequences' variations when reentry students' characteristics differ. We tried to determine if the same type of variations occurs when the focus is on the reentry students' global behaviour at graduate level.

Introduction

L'augmentation du nombre d'adultes étudiant en milieu universitaire est impressionnante.

L'ampleur du phénomène ajoute à l'à-propos de certaines interrogations : quelles sont les raisons qui incitent ces adultes à retourner aux études ? Que signifie la fréquentation d'une institution d'enseignement universitaire par un adulte, tant pour ce dernier que pour l'institution ? Quelles sont les conséquences personnelles, familiales et professionnelles d'un tel retour ?

Synthèse des travaux de nos devanciers

Intéressé par la question, une recension des écrits traitant du retour aux études d'un adulte a été effectuée.

Un essai de synthèse des résultats des travaux de nos devanciers a conduit à la proposition d'une classification selon cinq regroupements : 1. La fréquentation d'une institution d'enseignement; 2. Les rapports familiaux; 3. Les incidences psychologiques; 4. Les conséquences professionnelles; 5. Les répercussions sur les activités culturelles, sportives et sociales.

Les phénomènes liés à la fréquentation d'une institution d'enseignement sont ceux qui découlent des relations que l'étudiant doit entretenir avec l'institution d'enseignement qu'il fréquente, tant aux plans académique et administratif que social. On y trouve quatre catégories : 1. Les règles d'admission et d'inscription; 2. Les difficultés d'organisation des études; 3. Les services aux étudiants adultes; 4. Le climat institutionnel.

Les phénomènes reliés à la vie familiale sont ceux qui atteignent la famille de l'étudiant, la vie de celle-ci et les relations que l'étudiant entretient avec chacun de ses membres. On y trouve deux catégories : 1. La modification du partage des responsabilités; 2. Les relations entre les membres de la famille.

Les incidences psychologiques sont celles qui atteignent la vie affective de l'étudiant. De plus, pour éviter de multiplier les catégories, les conséquences spirituelles ont été rangées ici. On y trouve trois catégories : 1. L'apprentissage; 2. La dépression; 3. L'image de soi.

Les conséquences professionnelles sont celles qui atteignent la carrière de l'étudiant, en particulier son travail et ses relations avec ses employeurs, ses collègues ou ses subordonnés. On y trouve quatre catégories : 1. Réactions des employeurs; 2. Réactions des collègues; 3. Répercussions sur la vie de travail; 4. Répercussion du travail sur les études.

Finalement, les répercussions sur les activités culturelles, sportives et sociales sont celles qui visent la nature ou la fréquence des activités culturelles, sportives et sociales de l'étudiant. On y trouve deux catégories : 1. Le renouvellement du cercle d'amis; 2. La diminution du nombre des activités.

Le cadre conceptuel

Ce rassemblement dans cinq groupes et quinze catégories des éléments constitutifs de l'effet pour un adulte d'un retour aux études ne pouvait être utilisé tel quel dans notre recherche. D'abord, parce que ces éléments sont issus de préoccupations différentes de la nôtre : tantôt, ces recherches retenaient une perspective institutionnelle; tantôt, c'est la dynamique familiale qui retenait l'attention; tantôt encore, c'est le *counselling* qui constituait la trame de la recherche. Ensuite, parce que, parmi les éléments identifiés, plusieurs véhiculent à peu près la même information lorsqu'on les considère sous l'angle de l'adulte de retour aux études.

L'ensemble des éléments a donc été repris et regroupé selon l'effet pour un adulte du retour aux études. Ce travail a permis d'identifier six thèmes qui sont devenus les assises sur lesquelles s'appuient notre cadre théorique.

Le premier thème précisait les conditions du retour. Elles étaient de deux ordres : familiales, tel le besoin d'obtenir l'approbation du conjoint ou de la conjointe, et personnel, tel l'obligation de réussir un examen d'admission ou encore d'attester des pré-requis suffisants.

Le second thème, intitulé «Contexte du retour» regroupait les exigences de l'institution d'enseignement de même que le support qu'elle fournit à l'étudiant et les rapports de ce dernier avec ses collègues.

Le troisième thème regroupait l'étude et l'évaluation alors que le quatrième considérait le retour dans son ensemble. En effet, selon nos devanciers toujours, l'étude et l'évaluation pouvaient avoir comme conséquences des états psychologiques, agréables ou désagréables. Mais aussi, lorsque considéré comme événement global, le retour aurait des conséquences diverses tant sur la vie personnelle de l'étudiant que sur sa vie de famille, sa vie professionnelle et sur ses loisirs.

Le cinquième thème traitait des réactions de l'entourage de l'étudiant. La modification des comportements et des exigences de l'adulte de nouveau aux études entraînent en effet des réactions de son milieu. Ces réactions sont perceptibles au moins dans le milieu familial et dans le milieu de travail.

Enfin, le sixième et dernier thème regroupait des éléments de la vie de travail, de la vie de famille et de la vie personnelle de l'étudiant de même que des dispositions sociales qui semblaient influencer les études par le biais du temps qu'ils consomment ou permettent d'économiser, par l'énergie qu'ils exigent ou qu'ils libèrent et par la tranquillité d'esprit qu'ils procurent ou qu'ils enlèvent à l'étudiant.

Ces six thèmes, qui sont aussi les six dimensions de notre cadre théorique, se subdivisent en plusieurs éléments.

La méthodologie

Entrevues préliminaires

Les dimensions et les éléments du cadre théorique ne pouvaient suffire à réaliser la recherche permettant d'atteindre cet objectif. Il a déjà été mentionné qu'ils étaient issus de recherches dont les perspectives différaient de la nôtre. Mais, de plus, ces travaux avaient été réalisés auprès de populations dont les caractéristiques n'étaient pas similaires; les méthodes utilisées et les lieux où elles avaient été menées variaient aussi grandement. Il s'ensuivait que le cadre théorique issu de ces recherches ne pouvait a priori être considéré exhaustif.

Aussi, pour vérifier et compléter les dimensions et les éléments déjà identifiés, cinq entrevues préliminaires ont été tenues. De récents diplômés du programme de maîtrise en administration des affaires de l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Montréal et des étudiants sur le point de terminer ce programme ont été rencontrés.

Puisque, à notre connaissance, les recherches antérieures ne retenaient jamais comme population, des adultes inscrits à un programme professionnel de deuxième cycle, nous pouvions maintenant vérifier les éléments connus dans une nouvelle situation. De plus, la présence d'hommes et de femmes étudiant à temps plein ou à temps partiel semblait être de nature à faire émerger des enseignements nouveaux.

Cueillette des données

Plusieurs caractéristiques sont susceptibles d'influencer l'effet du retour aux études d'un adulte. L'âge, le nombre d'années sans avoir étudié, les antécédents académiques, la plus ou moins grande aisance financière, les objectifs du retour en sont autant d'exemples. Cependant, les résultats des écrits consultés, jumelés au matériel obtenu lors des entrevues préliminaires permettaient d'identifier trois caractéristiques ayant une influence considérable sur l'effet du retour : le régime d'études, le sexe et le fait d'être parent.

De plus, puisque nous nous intéressions au retour, du début à la fin, nous devions rencontrer des diplômés. Diplômés, depuis combien de temps ? Les entrevues préliminaires avaient démontré qu'une période de deux ou trois mois était trop brève : les gens n'ont, dans ce cas, que peu de choses à dire sur la période de l'après-étude. Une période de six à quinze mois semblait idéale. En effet, on est alors suffisamment près de la fin des études pour ne pas avoir encore oublié l'effet de son retour et pour ne pas avoir trop modifié la signification de ce qu'on a vécu; mais, en même temps, on est suffisamment éloigné pour pouvoir parler de ces premiers mois où on n'a plus de cours à suivre, de travaux à rédiger, d'examens à réussir, etc.

Compte tenu de ce qui précède, le schéma d'échantillon qui nous semblait offrir le plus de chances d'observer l'influence des caractéristiques majeures (sexe, situation parentale, statut scolaire) et des autres caractéristiques, contenait autant de femmes que d'hommes, autant de personnes qui ont des enfants que de personnes qui n'en ont pas et autant d'étudiants à temps partiel que d'étudiants à plein temps.

Le nombre de personnes retenues est de 24.

Résultats

Raisons du retour

Les raisons pour lesquelles les personnes interrogées sont revenues aux études sont surtout d'ordre professionnel ou personnel.

Parmi les raisons d'ordre professionnel, la plus importante est d'avoir éventuellement accès aux échelons supérieurs de l'entreprise (21/24).

La raison d'ordre personnel la plus souvent mentionnée (17/24) est le désir de détenir un diplôme de deuxième cycle. Plusieurs disent nourrir une telle ambition qui date d'avant la fin de leurs études de premier cycle universitaire.

Conditions du retour

Parmi les conditions d'ordre familial, des recherches antérieures à la nôtre mentionnent que la femme qui souhaite retourner aux études demande l'approbation de son conjoint et de ses enfants.

Nos résultats ne confirment pas cette opinion. En fait, aucun des douze parent, femme ou homme, n'a consulté ses enfants qui, notons-le toutefois, étaient tous en bas âge.

D'autre part, parmi les 24 personnes interviewées, quinze, dont 9 femmes sur 12 considèrent non nécessaire l'approbation des conjoints.

En ce qui concerne les conditions du retour d'ordre académique, 16 personnes sur 24 considèrent qu'un examen d'admission est un outil mal adapté à la clientèle adulte. Après une période d'interruption des études d'au moins deux ans, ils disent avoir besoin d'une certaine période de réadaptation à l'étude avant de se soumettre à un examen comme méthode d'évaluation.

Éléments du retour

Pour l'adulte, étude et craintes vont souvent de pair. Dix-sept des 24 personnes rencontrées ont craint de ne pas avoir les qualités intellectuelles pour comprendre et de ne plus disposer que d'une mémoire inadéquate. Pour pallier ces craintes, elles passaient beaucoup de temps à étudier.

La plupart insistent sur le fait que l'étude a permis de réaliser, au-delà de l'acquisition de connaissances, d'autres acquisitions de caractère plus général : par exemple : (1) améliorer sa compréhension de la société, c'est-à-dire mieux percevoir sa complexité, mieux connaître son fonctionnement; (2) accroître certaines habiletés intellectuelles, comme la capacité d'organiser ses connaissances, de s'exprimer ou de rédiger, de relativiser les problèmes, d'assimiler, d'analyser et d'effectuer une synthèse; (3) développer certaines caractéristiques de sa personnalité comme une image positive de soi et la confiance en soi.

D'autre part, l'évaluation entraîne aussi des craintes ou de l'anxiété chez la quasi totalité des personnes interviewées. La conséquence de ces craintes est une grande excitation les jours d'examen.

Retour comme situation globale

Les études ont des répercussions tantôt positives, tantôt négatives sur la vie de famille mais celles-ci l'emportent sur les premières. En effet, 15 personnes sur 24 considèrent que la considérable diminution du temps consacré à leur conjoint est la source de tensions familiales plus ou moins grandes. Lorsqu'à cette situation s'ajoute le transfert de l'étudiant à sa conjointe (ou à son conjoint) des responsabilités reliées à l'administration de la maison qu'il (elle) assumait autrefois, les rapports deviennent parfois très tendus. Or, 9 des 24 personnes rencontrées ont complètement remis ces responsabilités à leur conjoint(e).

Chaque fois qu'apparaît une nouvelle obligation, la vie de loisirs de l'adulte a tendance à être sacrifiée, et bien avant la vie de famille. Toutes les personnes avec lesquelles nous avons eu un entretien nous ont dit que leurs études ont eu un effet sur leurs loisirs. Pour 15 d'entre elles, cet effet signifie une élimination des sorties au cinéma et au théâtre, des rencontres avec les anciens amis et des activités sportives. Pour les autres, des choix se sont imposés étant donné la nécessité d'étudier durant les fins de semaine et durant plusieurs jours fériés.

Tous les diplômés avec lesquels nous avons eu un entretien reconnaissent avoir éprouvé de la fatigue ou même du stress. Il n'est pas étonnant que des adultes qui éprouvent des difficultés dans les aspects majeurs de leur vie se disent fatigués ou tendus. Ceux qui étaient inscrits à temps partiel semblent avoir connu cette fatigue et ce stress plus fréquemment et plus intensément. Les causes seraient les suivantes : craintes reliées à l'étude; conflits avec le conjoint; diminution du temps disponible pour la famille; responsabilités de la maison non assumées.

Réactions de l'entourage

Aucun diplômé n'a un conjoint qui s'est toujours et totalement montré négatif vis-à-vis de ses études. Beaucoup, au contraire, se sont vus offrir un soutien moral et de l'aide pour réaliser les tâches familiales.

Toutefois, au fil du temps, plusieurs ont dû subir des manifestations d'impatience plus ou moins fréquentes et intenses. Les situations qui apparaissent les plus difficiles sont celles où le conjoint a exprimé son désaccord avec le projet d'étude de son épouse alors que celle-ci jugeait être trop avancée pour abandonner. Nous avons relevé 7 cas de cette nature. Parmi ces 7, cinq se sont vu menacées du divorce et 3 ont effectivement divorcé.

Les réactions des membres de la famille élargie se manifestent la plupart du temps par une modification du comportement de ces derniers : après avoir essuyé un certain nombre de refus de la part de l'étudiant, ils ne le sollicitent plus pour les réunions familiales. La plupart en arrivent d'ailleurs à ne plus visiter l'étudiant, tout simplement.

La vie de travail de l'étudiant

Neuf des 12 personnes inscrites à temps partiel affirment avoir appliqué les connaissances acquises à l'université en cherchant à modifier les méthodes de travail selon ce qu'elles avaient vu dans les cours. Il n'est donc probablement pas exagéré de dire que les études d'un employé profitent aux entreprises qui les emploient. Cependant, 11 personnes sur 12 mentionnent avoir consacré moins de temps et d'énergie au travail pendant les semaines d'examen.

La vie de parent de l'étudiant

Très brièvement résumé, voici ce que nous ont dit les personnes interviewées : elles étaient moins disponibles mais elles se faisaient un devoir de demeurer accessibles. Les moyens pour y arriver diffèrent : on accepte que l'enfant s'amuse dans sa pièce d'étude pendant qu'on étudie; on attend qu'il dorme pour étudier; on étudie moins que souhaité.

CASAE PEACE GROUP SYMPOSIUM

Budd Hall (Chair) with Rose Dyson, Bill Fallis, William McQueen and Judith Snow

FINDING OUR VOICES, TELLING OUR STORIES

Résumé: La première communication explore la transformation de notre environnement culturel, qui est attribuable à la diffusion massive et à la puissance des médias. La deuxième communication décrit les effets des mass media sur notre société pluraliste. La troisième communication souligne l'importance sur le plan social des faits rapportés, et ce, afin que les personnes aux écoutes puissent être autonomes et incluses et, d'autre part, en mesure de participer et de changer la société. La quatrième communication examine le paradigme d'inclusion et rapporte des situations où l'on effectue avec succès une restructuration inclusive.

Abstract: The first presentation explores the transformation of our cultural environment that is due to the impact of mass-marketed media. The second presentation describes the effects of the mass-marketed media on our pluralistic society. The third presentation emphasizes the social significance of story telling in order for persons to be autonomous, to be included and to participate and change society. The fourth presentation examines the paradigm of inclusion and relates stories of situations where restructuring for inclusion is being caring out successfully.

Part I: The Transformation of our Cultural Environment: Losing Our Stories

Rose Dyson, Doctoral Student, Department of Adult Education, O.I.S.E., Toronto

Throughout human history our cultural environment has been comprised of stories and images that have helped to cultivate who we are, what we think, what we do, and how we conduct our affairs. Civilization, as we have learned to understand it in more recent times, has been comprised of a social environment shaped by images and messages from the home, the school, through the church, neighbourhoods and nation states. Today, children are born into an environment largely independent of these major influences. Instead stories about our lives, the work and the values we seek are now largely mass-produced and mass-marketed. Modern story tellers are seldom parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents or the clergy, but rather a handful of distant conglomerates with something to sell. These developments have changed our ways of learning, growing up and relating to each other.

While profit in a capitalist economy is not new, what is new is the increasing cost in the promotion and marketing of commodities to include lifestyle. For ordinary citizens, this is tantamount to taxation without representation. For advertisers, this process merely involves a form of tax-deductible business expense. In effect, they buy the rights to tell the stories we hold in common. Within society at large, alternatives to this scenario are often preempted by dominant media interests who grow and diversify through mergers and conglomeratizations which involve an ever expanding range of media ownerships such as newspapers, magazine and book publishers, film and television production studios and distribution companies. They limit freedom of information to those who own it, divorcing payment from choice and denying meaningful public participation in cultural decision-making.

There is growing emphasis on the need for a cultural environmental movement which is concerned with such distortions of the democratic process; distortions which include the promotion of practices that drug, hurt, poison and kill thousands every day; portrayals that dehumanize and stigmatize; cults of violence that desensitize, terrorize and brutalize; the growing siege mentality of our cities; the drift toward ecological suicide; the silent crumbling of our infrastructure, widening resource gaps and the most glaring inequalities in the industrial world, the costly neglect of vital institutions such as public education, health care and the arts.

Several decades of research show the harmful effects from these media practices on our society. But such conclusions are ignored, as popular culture continues to grow to the point where it is now a leading export for many countries around the world, particularly in the United Sates. While debate over the conclusiveness and nature of these findings continues, there is now widespread agreement that there are links between make-believe violence and real violence. Yet toys socializing children today not only include computer games and war toys such as machine guns combined with interactive television, but also include serial killer cards and board games.

Adult educators are challenged to address these cultural wounds and to mobilize cultural power to liberating ends. Areas of activism for social change are beginning to emerge and we need to build upon them. The following are some examples:

* New coalitions involving media-oriented networks and councils must be supported on a global basis. Similarly, coalitions must be encouraged among teachers, students and parents; groups concerned with children, youth and aging; women's groups; minority organizations; and other organizations and individuals committed to creating mechanisms of public participation in cultural policy-making.

* The issue of censorship, both public and private needs to be more fully addressed. Initiatives must include the extension of civil liberties legislation beyond its use as a shield for the powerful with an aim to reduce concentration of control of the media, by the media. Less affluent and more vulnerable groups marginalized by marketers must be included in decision making.

* Work with journalists, artists, writers, actors, directors, and other creative workers struggling for greater freedom and diversity in media employment and expression needs to be expanded.

* Emerging programs in media literacy and critical viewing and reading skills need to be strengthened.

* Cultural policy issues must be placed on the social-political agenda in forums of public discussion and policy development.

Part 2: Ethnic voices: Are they being heard?

Bill Fallis, Faculty, George Brown College, Toronto

Canadians must answer the question: "Do we wish to speak with one voice and share one story, or do we wish to speak with many voices and share many stories?"

This writer's view is that the latter perception is more beneficial for our society. If we learn to hear other voices, we expand our range of expression. Our ears become attuned to different sounds. Such new channels broaden our view of the world. As the Czech saying offers, "If we learn a new language, we gain a new soul".

Once attuned to the voices, we can learn the stories that would otherwise be lost. These stories express unique ways of answering our common questions: "How should we live? How should we treat our neighbours? How should we educate our young and ourselves? and What is important in our lives?" Collectively, these stories reflect the rich, diverse nature of our people.

What is culturally expressed through our institutions will depend on the frequency which with a story is heard. In our society the supporters of a mass-marketed media are primarily promoting one story and not giving air time to the others. An essential part of our collective heritage and a means of shaping our Canadian culture is being diminished in favour of a homogenized view that focusses on the values of "science and technology, universalism and achievement". These values are presented as those essential for a successful and modern society. But they reflect limited images of life that stifle the full expression of our people and, unfortunately, we lose the ability to hear and to learn from each other. In particular, we lose important perspectives when solving societal problems such as racism and discrimination.

Perhaps, our society does not want to hear the individual stories of refugees, immigrants and minority groups. Why? Because it brings us face to face with the pain, tragedy and horror, mostly, in other countries but also in our own communities. It makes us realize how privileged and protected our lives are compared to the war, civil strife and famine in other countries. By not hearing these stories, we do not have to accept their authenticity and the challenge they represent.

If we could see others as individuals with their own rich stories, we would treat people far more sympathetically and with more understanding. But by hearing these stories through the mouth of a superficial and often sensational media, they become easily stereotyped.

Are our ethnic voices being heard? No. But at this time in our national life, we, as adult educators, need to be proactive in opening up the channels and hearing the stories that will give new and creative meaning to our collective lives.

Part III: Struggling to be Heard: Celebrating Our Stories

William McQueen, Producer, Disability Network, C.B.C. Television

Learning to tell and telling our life stories is inherent to self-discovery, autonomy, citizen inclusion, participation, contribution, and interdependence. Our acts of disclosure and sharing of personal experience and learning are how we grow and develop.

Persons who collected and tell the stories of people have been around for a very long time. Public story telling, *as social roles*, was generally held by the male of the species, who also held political power.

In our time through public mass media, and especially television, new opportunities for story telling have arisen where we see the faces and circumstances of people who live great distances from us. But persons who have been kept on the sidelines of society are only seen sporadically on the mainstream airwaves.

Indigenous people, women, persons of colour, persons who are residents or citizens of Canada from other cultures, and people with disabilities legitimately object to the failure to tell their stories on television without significant distortions.

In the mid-1980s an experienced television producer came to the startling realization that there were few if any persons with disabilities who worked in mainstream broadcasting. With the help of the Centre for Independent Living In Toronto, he organized a locally-based radio programme, produced by persons with disabilities. "The Radio Connection" began to tell the stories of people with disabilities by people with disabilities *themselves*. Their efforts in radio led to the creation in 1990 of a national television programme called "The Disability Network".

These programmes filled not only a gap of information, but also created a new space for people, often hidden away, to learn to tell, tell and hear their stories. People with disabilities were fed up with the stereotypical story telling upon which media people often relied. Such story telling did not accurately represent the lives which people with disabilities lead. These stereotypes exerted pressure on them, and limited their ability to draw on their own learning and experience. For example, stereotypes cast persons in extremes, as victim or villain, as helpless and incapable, or hero and superstar. Sometimes people with disabilities refer derisively to the latter as a "super crip".

An environment for conversation and discussion was not formerly available to persons who cannot easily gather together because of mobility problems and conditions of isolation. Through a news magazine format that is topical, and special documentaries that focus on specific problems, the forthright presentation of their lives were made. Often, these stories were in their own words and provide *living* examples that refute all labelling and stereotyping. As well, the presentations helped persons in the general population who have had accidents see empowering possibilities.

In public television, story telling through first person forms has become a trend that seeks to include all citizens. It opposes narrow story telling in the interest of powerful or dominate groups. The shows also train people with disabilities for work in mainstream media.

But within public television there remains a social struggle around an answer to the broader question: "Who gets to tell the story?" National television training officers at the C.B.C. have sought with some success to introduce these principles into daily news and current affairs presentations. Although not a few current affairs producers have taken up first person story telling, the telling of stories is still concentrated in an older, hierarchical form. Still, society cannot grow and flourish without all members contributing, and telling their stories based on their rich, lifelong learning and experience.

Part IV: Restructuring for an Inclusive World: Recognizing Other Voices

Judith Snow, Visiting Scholar, Centre for Integrated Education and Community

People labelled disabled have a story told about them which restricts their full life. Seen as afflicted, they are referred and related to as people who need "special" environments, status and treatment. Spoken of as "ill" they are believed to require others to expertly decide for them in all areas - housing, employment, relationships, etc. Even "helpful" people act within this context, setting up "special" education programs, reforming the "health" system, and so on.

The insight that these people may not be sick, irresponsible and extraordinarily vulnerable does not arise within this framework, leading those labelled disabled to buy into their own restrictions. Genuine liberation can come only if a different story is told - one with an alternative perception of bodies and minds that vary from the cultural norm. Inclusion is just such a different story.

The inclusion paradigm asserts that everyone is a participant in the world - everyone belongs, everyone contributes. The expectation is that people both want to and ought to participate and contribute to each other and to society regardless of age, race, culture and ability. From this perspective a person who is isolated, poor and/or apparently unable or unwilling to contribute is at the effect of a different problem. Since all citizens receive social support to participate, the lack lies in the support structure around this person.

Typical citizens currently receive one sort of support; labelled citizens receive another. Extensive resources are expended on the typical citizen for transportation, communication, water, power, housing and much more. These supports have two characteristics. First the citizen ultimately decides where and when the structure gets used. Secondly, the citizen contributes to the cost of the structure.

For example, the transportation system is complex and expensive but I decide if I buy a car or use a bus, I decide where and when I travel, I pay for the car's gas or the bus fare, and I contribute to road costs. I decide when I turn on my light switch, what sort of light bulbs and fixtures I will use; I pay my power bill. Through the use of this structure the citizen is seen to be a valued participant, develops her/his supportive relationships and contributes to society.

The citizen who is labelled physically disabled, mentally handicapped or old also has a complex and expensive support structure. But this citizen cannot determine the end use of the "special" support. Others will tell me where I will live, when I may eat or have a glass of water, where the paratransport but will take me and when, and with whom I may share my life - roommate, homemaker and social worker alike. The cost of this support is usually borne by others. In return my role in contributing and my respect is obliterated. Also I am prevented from gathering together the personal resources and relationships that would allow me to end my dependency and vulnerability.

Medical, charitable thinking cannot lead people into a life of vibrant, dynamic citizenship. Medical, charitable thinking will not curb itself either. For every citizen truly to be included and valued two fundamental structural changes are required.

First medical ideas, technologies and facilities must be restricted to being used when people are truly sick, not simply not young or average. Secondly we must build support structures that are genuinely accessible to all citizens. Only an inclusive world can fulfil the promise of prosperity, peace and citizenship for everyone.

References

Ellis, David. *Split Screen.* Toronto: Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, 1992.

Gerbner, George. *Cultural Environmental Movement Prospectus.* P.O. Box 31847, Philadelphia, PA 19104. 1992.

Gore, Al. *Earth In the Balance: Ecology And The Human Spirit.* New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992.

Medved, Michael. *Hollywood VS. America.* New York: Harper Collins, 1992.

Peuramaki, Don. (Senior Producer, "The Disability Network." English Television, C.B.C.). Interviewed by William McQueen. March 31, 1993.

Pearpoint, Jack (Ed.). *Inclusion Papers.* Toronto: Inclusion Press, 1992.

Rabiger, Michael. *Directing the Documentary.* 2nd Edition. Boston & London: Focal Press, 1992.

Wetherow, David. *The Whole Community Catalogue.* P.O. Box 374, Manchester, CT 06040: Communitas, 1992.

TAX, LIES AND VIDEOTAPE: REFLECTIONS ON POPULAR EDUCATION AND THE ONTARIO FAIR TAX COMMISSION

Budd L. Hall
Centre for Community and Global Transformation Studies
Adult Education Department, OISE

This paper is to be read together with papers by Lundrigan, Lewycky, Martin and Burke which together form a symposium presentation. This title serves for both this paper as well as the our overall symposium.

These papers have been written by five adult educators who have each had long and varied experience in the practice of popular education in a remarkable variety of settings: communities in Ontario, rural areas in Asia, trade unions in all parts of Canada, women's groups in Latin America and the Maritimes and many other places. Each of us has been involved in the community consultation process of the Ontario Fair Tax Commission. Bev Burke and D'arcy Martin were involved in the design and implementation of the popular education training for the community animators. Dennis Lewycky and Marina Lundrigan were community animators in Ottawa-Carleton and London, Ontario respectively. I have worked with the late dian marino of the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University on the evaluation of the community consultation process.

The Ontario Fair Tax Commission and Adult Education

The history of Canadian adult education is a history of women and men using education in the context of issues of social justice. Frontier College, Antigonish, the NFB film circuits of the past and the community-based literacy movement, the 'popular education'work and local ecological education of the present share the intention of using education to tackle issues of injustice. It is our contention that the Ontario Fair Tax Commission (FTC), particularly the community consultation process within the FTC, falls within an historical Canadian pattern of joint civil society-state efforts intending to reveal and take action upon issues of injustice. The issue at hand is inequities of income and wealth distribution and the relationship of the taxation system to the propagation of those inequities. These modest notes are in part a response to Michael Welton's call for "rendering the invisible visible"[1]. They also briefly touch on the question of whether popular education can be used on a larger scale than is our normal experience. Finally they offer some comment on the tensions involved when the state initiates and educational process with a transformative or reformist intent. A fuller study of this material could be usefully developed within Gramsciian notions of hegemony and civil society and within broader understandings of contemporary political economy.

According to Statistics Canada, the top 20 percent of the population own almost 70 per cent of the wealth.[1] The top 10 per cent in fact own over 50 per cent of the total wealth. By contrast the bottom 20 per cent owe more money than they own...they have negative wealth. Since 1984, the income taxes of the average working poor family have gone up by 44 per cent; those of the average middle class family have gone up 10 per cent; while the tax bills of the typical top income families have dropped by 6 per cent. In 1987 the Federal Government made a number of reforms to the taxation system. The effect on personal income tax was to reduce the 'progressive' nature of the income tax (a progressive tax policy means those who earn more a higher percentage for tax purposes). The present Federal tax system for example makes no distinction in the ability to pay between someone earning $55,000. and someone earning $250,000. In terms of personal income tax vs corporate income tax, individuals contributed 90.1 per cent of all direct taxes in 1990 while corporations contributed 9.9 per cent. Canada's corporate taxes are the lowest of the top industrialised nations. In Ontario in 1989, $18.5 billion dollars of profits were made on which no corporate tax at all was paid.

The Ontario Fair Tax Commission was established by the Treasurer of Ontario to provide advice to the Government on how the provincial tax system can be made more fair. It was part on an election promise made by the Ontario New Democratic Party to make taxation more fair. The FTC can also be seen as a response to the perceived hijacking of the taxation system by the wealthy. It is a response to the lies that corporate Canada has supported that taxation is too complicated for ordinary people to know anything about.[2] What the FTC found in preliminary focus group research was that although the technicalities of taxation are complex, most people consider themselves experts on the question of fairness. So the task of the FTC has been to stimulate the broadest possible debate, discussion, research and education on the issues of fairness in taxation so that Ontario citizens, particularly those who had not normally been part of taxation discussions might have an opportunity to speak to issues of fairness. There are a vast number of public information documents on the FTC and on the many and complex issues which they have dealt with to date.[2]

Why is this consultation important?

It is important for us to take a moment and step back from our day-to-day involvement in this process to remind ourselves what is important about this popular education and community consultation exercise.

1. People in the community, non-experts, have been excluded from debates around tax policy in Ontario systematically over the past 25 years.

2. The 'social contract' or understandings between the people and their governments are being

---

[1]. All figures in this section are from "Tax Force Presentation on Fair Tax Reform", a set of overheads prepared by John Restakis of Alpha Consultants for the FTC.

[2]. For a detailed description of "how the rich won control of Canada's tax system and ended up richer" see Linda McQuaig's Behind Closed Doors Toronto:Penguin, 1988.

renegotiated everywhere and in Ontario we are looking at new relationships of accountability and listening which might be called 'social bargaining'. The FTC consultation process provides insights into some aspects of a renegotiated 'social contract'.

3. Popular education and community-based organizing have traditionally been done outside of government structures. What does it mean to create an organizing/popular education process with public service support and frameworks?

4. Traditional government consultations assume that it is enough to produce an overview document, send it out to various groups and then set up hearings to receive testimony. The FTC consultation process is breaking new ground in supporting a combined educational and organizing agenda.

5. From a community education point-of-view there is much to be learned from the conscious linking of a community organizing strategy with a popular education process.

6. How best can community members, citizens, become informed and inform themselves about issues which are perceived to be as technical, personal and political as taxation? What combination of written materials, popular education approaches, organizing, outside speakers, etc work best?

7. Can a government process initiate a community reform movement which becomes both autonomous and independent within 18 months?

8. The combination of skills, experience and accomplishments of the animation team, the administrative team, the resource persons and others involved are unique. Bringing them together offers us a special chance to focus on learning to do this work better.

Sources of information

a. FTC Documentation

22 key reports and descriptive documents produced by the FTC Secretariat on various phases of the overall FTC and the consultation process.

b. Process and observation notes

Taken by the evaluation team (Budd Hall and dian marino) at 18 planning meetings, training events or Steering Committee events.

c. Interviews

20 interviews with animators, community tax force members (forum only), FTC staff and Steering Committee members.

d. WEB

General monitoring of issues and events which found their way into general circulation mail or conferences on the WEB (the computer-based information system which linked all of us).

e. Clippings

Partial collection of what was going on…not much from outside the Toronto press.

f. Final Reports from the animators

We have detailed final reports from nine of the 16 communities

Preliminary Issues arising

The full study of these materials is still to come, but there are a number of comments which come directly from the popular education animators and FTC staff members which are illustrations of the kinds of issues and complexities which have arisen already.

Make consultations more 'user-friendly'

"If governments want to consult the people effectively, they must make public consultations much more 'user friendly'. They should gear consultations more to the participants involved and less to the immediate dictates of the government's administrative needs. Consultations and in particular those people doing the consulting, need to be oriented to the knowledge base, political interests, social skills and cultural experiences of those people who need to be consulted…Low income people for example should be allowed to speak about their experiences in language they control."

Impact

Peterborough

"The most important result from the FTC process seen in this community is the willingness of the general public to speak out. Not complain, gripe, snivel, plead or slander, but to clearly and logically speak out on what they feel needs to be done to the current tax system or to make recommendations for improvements for a new system. There is genuine interest in Peterborough for tax reform, but the interest is cloaked in doubt, suspicion and apathy."

Thunder Bay

"There is more willingness to connect the revenue and expense side of the ledger. If we want things, we have to pay for them. More willingness to engage in discussion of tax issues rather than feeling it doesn't matter, or doesn't involve me. This is particularly true of the more left wing groups which have not generally concerned themselves with tax issues in Thunder Bay".

Grey-Bruce Counties

"To date we have not seen any results of our work. There have been some discussions that proved interesting and I know some other members of the tax force have been involved in similar discussions. As the hearing date draws closer, we hope there will be more interest in the media".

"I think there is genuine interest in reforming taxes. Many people realize the inequities that exist now and are interested in a fairer system. What would give me the most satisfaction? I would like people to feel that they had a chance to be heard".

Windsor - Essex

"Once people get involved they seem to continue to stay active. Many of those who attend our first couple of sessions requested to be placed on the mailing list and receive further information on upcoming meetings or events in our community. There appears to be somewhat greater awareness of the FTC than before we began our work. Further results will have to await the hearing process."

"Tax reform is a complex and difficult subject matter. For individuals to move beyond problem identification and narrow vision to solution finding and broader understanding of the issues takes time. The expectations of a community based initiative must take this into consideration. Realistically there is a limit to what one can expect to accomplish in a year's time. Developing strong community awareness and action on tax reform requires ongoing attention."

Northumberland

"While I do believe that some members of our community have a genuine interest in tax reform, I'm not confident that they can follow through. Our tax force is working now to ensure that there will be groups and individuals ready to present briefs at the Hearings, and we'll do everything we can to make that happen. Hopefully all of us involved in this work have expanded our understanding and appreciation for people different from us, and learned that positive contributions can come form very unexpected sources."

Toronto

"Our community is too broad to define. But, whenever we talk to individuals about fair taxation people express a great deal of surprise at the actual facts and are willing to act in some way- whether by letter or signature or wearing a sticker. Overall, the TAX REVOLT rhetoric remains popular in the hearts and minds of the media and many in the metro region."

Hearings in Progress in April and May 1993

At the time of writing this paper, the hearings in various communities around Ontario are in progress. The assessment of the overall process will need to wait until the quality of participation in the various communities can be identified.

References

1. Welton, Michael R., ed. Knowledge for the People. Toronto: OISE Press, 1987. p. 3.

2. Materials available from the FTC, 1075 Bay Street, 6'th Floor, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2B1

THE JOY OF TAX: Reflections from the Training Team

Bev Burke and D'Arcy Martin
The Doris Marshall Institute

We're starting to loosen up…fifteen of us, early the third evening of our training session. Squeezed into a social room, we're roleplaying the "thorny moments" we anticipate in the Community Education and Consultation Program of the Fair Tax Commission….

"You get a call from someone in a community 300 km. away which is not covered by the FTC animation program. She wants to know why they have been left out and wants you to come and organize activities in her community. You already have your hands full."

"You are speaking to a local Rotary Club at a luncheon meeting and you get hostile questions from the audience.

These are only a few of the nightmares raised during the training program organized by the Doris Marshall Institute of Toronto. We, along with Dennis Howlett [1] designed and led the training for this innovative exercise in public policy consultation. Our purpose in writing this paper is to share some of that experience with other educators.

1. Why we got involved

First, we liked the politics. We wanted to help break the monopoly of the tax technicians over discussion of this key economic issue! In the complicated, technical world of taxes, there is an underlying set of principles or values which experts have been able to put forward as the natural law of the universe - rather than as a domain for public discussion. The FTC wanted to change that - and had as a major objective to involve those not normally heard in the tax debate. They wanted to democratize the development of tax policy. And with the new NDP government in power, the odds seemed a little better that it might happen.

Second, we liked the professional challenge. The FTC offered the possibility of developing a new and creative approach to 'Commissions' with a public weary of being asked after the fact to opine on what had already been decided. Our interest at DMI was to explore a negotiated approach to 'consultation'. We saw social bargaining as an alternative to the 'contained combat' in the adversarial approach taken in parliament - or the consensus approach which 'disappears' legitimate differences in perspective and interests among the actors. Social bargaining in the context of the FTC community consultation process would commit resources to those voices in the community not normally heard on tax policy, to empower them to engage in real negotiation with other actors and with the government. And the community voices would begin to be heard as input into the Commission's report - rather than only as commentary on it..

---

[1] Dennis was seconded from the Ecumencial Coalition for Economic Justice (ECEJ). He brought years of experience in education on economic policy alternatives. Of particular interest: GattFly, Ah Hah: A New Approach to Popular Education. Between the Lines: Toronto, 1983.

Third, we liked the connection to organizing. Many of us at DMI were (and are) involved in both popular education and community organizing on a range of social issues. And popular education methodology itself is committed to education for action. The FTC was hiring Alpha consultants, with a strong background in community organizing, to develop the community animation program. DMI was being hired to do the training of animators. Our interest was in fact to explore the connections between the two approaches.

Finally, we liked the scale and the resources. So much popular education has been done in small groups that it was exciting to take on an initiative that might reach a dozen communities or more over a period of a couple of years. And the Commission could pay at a professional level...not the top of the consultant scale, but enough to help carry some of DMI's overhead and to balance off some of the volunteer work progressive educators are called on to do. We mention the money because it's part of the impolite but real stuff of adult education work which is often hidden from view.

2. DMI role in the program

DMI was invited into the Fair Tax Commission's Community Education and Consultation Program by Patricia Lane, the Director, and by John Restakis of ALPHA consultants. Without the creativity and hard work of these two individuals, the program would never have been born.

DMI's major role was to design and implement the animator training program. However, our interest in locating the training within the community organizing strategy, led us to involvement in other parts of the program as well. We organized and facilitated an initial meeting of educators whose task was to assess the best methods of fulfulling the Commission's mandate of encouraging the involvement of people traditionally excluded from developing tax policy. We also agreed to membership on the coordination committee for the project. Through this participation we hoped that the training program would not be divorced from the community organizing work and that we would have some input into the overall direction of the project.

3. The Training Program

Our approach to the training was based on 'popular education' methodology.[2] In the proposal to the FTC, the major implications of this methodology for the community consultation program were identified as follows:

**We assume highly skilled participants and would draw on their expertise. Emphasis would be on building a team where animators could learn from and support each other.*
**Much of the content of the training would be defined by the problems and possibilities encountered by the animators in the communities.*
**The emphasis would be on how to communicate information rather than on delivering information to the animators*
**the training program aims to strengthen the community animation and organizing process and*

---

[2] DMI has further developed this approach in a recent publication: Arnold et al. Educating for A Change. DMI and Between the Lines: Toronto, 1991.

would not be conducted in isolation from it.

The strategy or framework for the training program was developed by the Advisory Group, with further input from John Restakis and Patricia Lane. A needs assessment was sent to most of the participants in advance of the training. The responses prioritized the need to clarify the job description and get information on the FTC and on taxes. In an exercise on expectations at the training, these objectives were confirmed and 'affective' objectives added - "to leave confident and excited' and 'to have fun'. Following the first training, participants were asked for advance input into subsequent sessions through comments on draft obejctives and agendas.

Prior to the first training an information package was sent to the animators with key readings on: the FTC, an introduction to tax issues, community organizing, and popular education; a training needs assessment; and a community research questionnaire, designed to assist animators in some advance thinking about the FTC project in their community context. Additional materials were included in a resource library developed for Session one.

Two residential training sessions took place, followed by several one-day sessions which combined organizational questions and animator support and problem solving. Also built into the design were a few days for 'coaching' between the training sessions, designed to utilize the computer link among animators and trainers.

Training Program Outline

December

*A residential training session with emphasis on team building, introduction to the FTC, start-up strategies, education on tax issues.

January

*A residential training session with emphasis on designing and facilitating community education programs; mutual support and problem solving; specific needs as defined by the animators

February -October

*four one day sessions for organizing and problem solving

November

*evaluation meeting for animators - community tax force representatives planning 'post animator' phase of program

4. Tensions/Issues Emerging

Scope of the program: the worst of both worlds

In the development of the program, the FTC was playing 'chicken' with its budget - confident that in the end, it would get what was needed. As a result the program was developed on a fairly large scale, trying to be representative of the communities in Ontario, while also giving additional representation to the North. When the initial budget was not reached, rather than scaling back to 3-4 pilot communities, a 'plan B' involved other Ministries seconding 'sectoral animators' to the project. While many of the individuals involved were very good, they served to expand the scope of the project even further, rather than adding resources directly to the communities already selected.

The training program found itself trying to respond to the needs of two sets of participants - those with a community base and those working in sectors. Since the sectoral work was to be coordinated with the community strategy, but without a plan as to how this would happen, there was considerable frustration experienced by the Ministry participants, and made it yet more difficult to build a team.

The recession and a subsequent budget cut further weakened the ability of the program to deliver on the scale envisioned. And in addition, the chronic lack of resources meant that finances was a constant tension and point of discussion during the training. This was even more frustrating to the many community based animators who had entered the program thinking that, at last, they were to be involved in a program which was adequately funded.

Taxes - underestimating the complexity

A second area of tension was around the content itself - and developed more clearly in the second training session. Animators were repeatedly told that they were to keep the conversation on 'fairness turf' - and were NOT expected to be on top of the technical information. However, they WERE expected to do community education on tax issues with a wide range of audiences.

The Reference Group had insisted that there be funds allocated for the development of education materials at the local level. This was to ensure that the materials would be relevant to community needs. But the budget cuts made resources very scarce from the outset and the FTC had difficulty producing popular materials which also met with the approval of the Commissioners. So other mechanisms had to be found with no resources!

Some tools were developed and found useful[3]: However a major weakness of the training was in its failure to provide the animators with more tools on taxes which could be creatively adapted for use at the community level, and with training in their use. It was too much to expect that the animators would somehow be able to find and/or develop these tools and processes themselves.

The question of power

Finally, a key issue for DMI from the first conversation about the FTC project was the question of power. There were also strong personalities involved in the process and, as you might expect, sparks often flew among them. While we do not wish to minimize the importance of those personal tensions, here we want to highlight some of the more systemic issues which affected the training program.

The FTC was concerned with the formulation of public policy on taxation for the Ontario government. So the Community Consultation Program was affected by both internal FTC tensions as well as by government policies - most notably the restraint program in response to the recession. Power relations were further complicated by the fact that the FTC

---

[3] The tax booklet and fact sheets are available from the FTC community consultation program, 1075 Bay St., 6th floor, Toronto M5S 2B1

Program Director had been a community activist and saw herself (as we also saw her) as 'one of us'. However, this led to a lack of clarity about lines of power (control over budget, final decision-making authority etc.) which meant that power was never negotiated within the coordinating team.

Alpha was responsible for the community organizing model used in the project. This vision of the program affected both the training and DMI's role. Since we were interested in linking the education with the community organizing, it was sometimes difficult to keep our respective roles clear. This blurring of responsibilities did not become a serious tension since we were able to keep the ambiguity on the table. However, at key moments in the project, when the Alpha community organizing strategy and vision came into conflcit with the FTC focus on public policy formulation, there were more serious implications.

The impact of these differences on the animators was to produce anxiety and a sense of shifting sands as they attempted to respond to community pressures and, increasingly, to send clear signals to their Tax Forces

We felt the impact of all of these forces during the training program. One issue was the changes in messages and directions given to animators and often people were hearing several conflicting messages. For example, in the first session it was stressed that the animators were to refer the media to the FTC in Toronto, or if media response became necessary, only the Community Tax Force representative should speak. In the second training, there was an emphasis on how to use and get more access to the media - and less worry about animators involved in media events. Some of the change was justifiably part of a creative process, requiring flexibility - and to the development of the project itself. However, constant change in several areas, combined with some differences among the main actors in the strategic direction of the project, left the animators with a great deal of anxiety and a sense of shifting sands.

Animator anxiety was palpable during the training. Rather than a sense of one team, there were many smaller groups formed in the first session. Differences in personalities and backgrounds were exacerbated. It wasn't until after the second residential training session that a 'team' sense developed. Roleplaying out the nightmares, and time spent on detailed workplanning did help the animators. At the end of the first session part of the team met with the Commissioners and they were able to communicate energy, a sense of common vision about the project and a sense of teamwork. However, although the necessary work had been completed, we all left the first five day session feeling drained, rather than energized for the task ahead.

A major strength of the training program was that it did remain flexible and allowed the animators to push for what they needed in order to get the job done. Following the second training session, for example, the animators moved to take more control over the direction of the program by setting up an Animator Support Committee (ASC). The ASC worked well, and played a key support and coaching role for the duration of the program.

5. By way of conclusion - some learning

The Community Consultation Program of the Fair Tax Commission was a wonderful idea!! And in spite of the many problems in its implementation, and the fact that it has to date not produced what we hoped for, it was well worth doing. We will leave to others to assess the program as a whole, but here are some thoughts on our learnings as educators.

First we learned about taxes...about how slippery and well-masked this terrain has become, in order to protect the privileges of a small number of Canadians.[4] It left us angry, but also intimidated by the complexity and persistence of technical questions. The intellectual fences around this field were only breached by us a few times.

Second, we learned about community consultation by government. It's an enormously important area, but the initial question of political will never left the agenda during the entire training program. Was the Commission itself just a way for the government to delay and avoid decisive action? Lacking a convincing answer to this question, we and the animators were always anxious, easily knocked off balance by critics from left and right, from inside both the bureaucracy and the communities. The verdict is still out as we have yet to see how seriously the government will tackle the hard issues in tax reform. But we have affirmed our earlier thinking that when civil society wishes to engage in consultation with government that will lead to action, there must be a process built in whereby the question of unequal power relations is addressed.

Third, we learned about popular education. We believe even more strongly now that the methods and spirit of democratic practice in education can be applied on a large scale. But we need new skills to do it effectively, especially skills in strategic thinking. It was very difficult for the FTC to produce educational tools on taxes. How to anticipate and deal with that problem? In moving from education to community action, the government link is clearly a limitation. When the strategy emerged of linking together the community tax forces into a provincial network in order to give them more political clout, the FTC was not able to get involved. It is important to note that there was disagreement among the animators and the tax forces as to whether this strategy was in fact viable. But the lesson for us as popular educators was that the government context for the program limited the range of actions available to the community.

Fourth, we all learned more about ourselves. We enjoyed our time together, and suprised one another by showing humour under pressure, and creativity in the midst of fatigue and information overload.. We learned that it's in the compassion for one another's slips, the awe at flashes of insight, the excitement of participants at being treated respectfully that we draw the strength to go on. As we equip ourselves to reach out, we continually need to reach in as well or our work becomes shallow and our capacity to listen drains away. Through both the tough moments and those filled with creative insights, we learned from each other as educators, as colleagues and as friends - and that is where the JOY of Tax happened.

---

[4] An important book in this regard, for ourselves and for the animators, was Linda McQuaig's Behind Closed Doors. Penguin, 1988

Networking for Reform: The Tax Force in London, Ontario

Marina Lundrigan

In the late fall of 1990, the Honorable Floyd Laughren charged the newly formed Ontario Fair Tax Commission with one clear direction: "involve a broad cross-section of Ontarians, especially those not normally involved in the development of tax policy in the work." As a consequence of this statement the ten Commissioners appointed were challenged to present proposals on ways to make Ontario taxes more just and fair.

New approaches to consultation were needed in order to meet the Treasurers request to include those not ordinarily present in traditional taxation discussion. In response the Fair Tax Commission decided on a Community Consultation Project as a way to solicit the opinions of the general public. The Project decided on a popular education perspective that included hiring animators from select communities across Ontario. These animators were asked to work in the communities they knew best, by stimulating discussion and debate about the fairness of the taxation system. It was hoped that as the process of education progressed, groups would work toward solutions to identified issues and problems.

In December 1991, "animator" training began for London's role in the FTC Community Consultation Project. As part of a team of cross-province animators it was very useful to begin the process in the company of others who brought a wide variety of skill sets. The group was encouraged to work together, develop our linkages and form supportive alliances. Training focused on: ways to "activate" individual communities, general overviews of the tax system and conflict resolution mechanisms.

Defining the job, and looking for key success factors, very much became an individual matter. Animators were encouraged to develop our own work plans and decide on principle contacts. Each animator was to look for their own "jumping-off" point; this was difficult as start-up was different within each community.

The Emergence of the Tax Force:

Start-up in the London community can best be described as serendipitous!! Recruitment for the Tax Force began with a group of people, all of whom were known to each other, reliable, socially responsible and able to carry out the work. A great deal of effort went into the initial discussions as most people needed convincing that this was worth their time. Many were jaded by previous consultation efforts and disillusioned with government in general.

Most Tax Force members were not tax experts in any sense and as such were unsure of their own ability to discuss such a technical subject. It was important to search for relevant materials and solicit knowledgeable speakers to maintain education as a major component of the work of the Tax Force.

In keeping with the FTC's mandate to consult with those not previously heard at the tax table, Tax Force recruitment came from the ranks of people responsible for service provision to disadvantaged or disenfranchised clients. The consequence of this outreach meant that London's Tax Force included representatives from: tenants associations, disadvantaged youth, social planning council, co-op sector, women, multi-cultural, low income, and small business.

To ensure a media comfort level for the Tax Force, it was decided to add a publicity person, who knew about press releases, had media friendships and contacts. The irony of her contribution was not that she was needed to deflect hostile media; rather, she was invaluable in trying to get ANY media coverage, hostile or friendly!!

Getting the commitment:

Keeping people interested was not a problem once a commitment was given to work with the group; rather, getting the commitment was tough. Taxation was a difficult subject to make "sexy" and without adequate materials to entice or allow people to become part of the thinking, most felt they had to rely on their own experience. This proved to be a pitfall in recruitment, " But I don't know anything about taxes!" As they became convinced they did indeed know a great deal about the taxation system, attendance at meetings became much more regular.

Work Planning:

By delineating a time frame and corresponding work plan, the group was able to focus on their need to become familiar with the available FTC materials. It was very important to attend to practical details for this newly formed and rather tentative group. Meetings were regularly scheduled and chaired by the animator, everyone was always telephoned to confirm attendance, food or refreshments were served and the tone of the meetings was upbeat and pleasant. Time was allowed for updates on Toronto FTC office happenings, for planning for next meetings, and for issue discussion.

Outreach was planned by the group; but, implemented by the animator. Planning and agenda setting was always a function of the group. It was important to quickly establish that although the animator was paid by the FTC, she was at the disposal of the Tax Force. It was important the Tax Force understand the role of the animator and in the absence of a firm definition by the FTC the group undertook the definition.

It was also important to give the work a local context and provide the group with materials and information as quickly as possible. For example by inviting the Economic Development officer for the City of London to speak, the Tax Force gained a full economic view, learned labour market issues, heard small business concerns, understood the annexation impact, and begin to grasp how a shrinking tax base affects everyone. This method of inviting outside speaker was an excellent catalyst for discussion. Members of the Tax Force began to learn to trust their judgement and own inherent knowledge of the taxation system.

Discussion of Issues:

While early issue discussion centred on low-income poverty relief, most people felt extremely uncomfortable discussing technical tax issues when they did not yet feel part of a group.
Becoming a cohesive group was hindered by a lack of substantive informational materials ; they also did not understand why they couldn't access information available to the "working groups". Rather than force an artificial situation, it was important to encourage the group to plan for itself around events, media strategy, who else needed to be on the tax force, etc.

This practical approach worked, some materials finally arrived, and the group had met sufficiently often to feel comfortable together. Discussion around the issues was very far ranging and rooted in the value systems of the tax force. Most were very concerned about the welfare of children, the need for significant employment, making sure that corporations "paid-up". It seemed wise of the group to let the discussion of issues unfold naturally and not cast any idea in stone.

"We meet, therefore; we exist!!"

From April to June the Tax Force began to see its work as important, it developed its own mission, defined its operating parameters and raised the profile of its work within the Commission. A local Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food offered its facilities for no cost to the group. Through the process of definition, the group began to gain confidence and work toward raising the profile of London issues and how they fit into the entire context within the province.

Role of the April Forum:

In April, the Fair Tax Commission hosted a large event bringing together Tax Force representatives and animators from across the province. This large event acted to validate the work of the Tax Force in London. The group began to put capital letters on who they were; they expanded their work to include "and Area". By solidly emerging as the "LONDON AND AREA TAX FORCE" they began to look seriously at delineating issues, confident enough to dig deeper into problems that the taxation system caused, and make recommendations for solutions.

Outreach and Study Circle Groups:

Much of the initial contacts had been accomplished and it became time to concentrate the work with groups who had indicated an interest in continuing. This resulted in the formation of four study groups which acted independently of the Tax Force but reported to the tax force as sub-committees.

Rural: A study group formed of three very self-motivated individuals who decided to conduct outreach to 6 to 8 rural and agricultural groups. They also decided to send out a questionnaire to 45 people known to be working in the agricultural sector.

Home and School: The local group decided to take a forward role in looking at how the taxation impacted on the ability of children to stay in the school system. A group of 4 women came together, including the area president, to attend tax force meetings and form a study group.

Women: The Tax Force representative with the National Council of Women recruited 7 women interested in forming a group to study women's issues and taxation.

Tenant and Landlord group: This was a very powerful group comprised of representatives from Mississauga, Sarnia and London who met to look at the common interest of equalizing property taxation in the rental/landlord market. They also saw as part of their agenda, the need to raise the profile of this issue with the Property Tax Working group in Toronto. The group invited the Senior Tax Assessor with the City of London along with the Assessment Commissioner to explain some of the intricacies of the tax assessment system.

Independent outreach continued concurrent to the work of the sub-committees continued and many presentations were made to groups of immigrant women, rural insurance brokers, and tax revolt groups.

Study Circle Supper:

This event was designed to allow the individual study circle participants an opportunity to come together, meet each other and diminish the feeling of working in isolation. The format of the evening included a "visioning" session, an opportunity to look at how the vision might be achieved through changes in the tax system, and preliminary recommendations each group would like to make to the FTC.

The Mountain coming to Mohammed:

Two Commissioners attended a public meeting in London, held at a local housing co-operative. Forty people attended, many of whom were new faces but had heard of the local work. Radio media were in attendance and interviews were broadcast. Each study group made a presentation to the Commissioners; they then responded, after which the evening was then opened up to the floor. Many and varied opinions were forthcoming, but all seemed to be thoughtful and well-formulated. It was gratifying to see some representatives attend who had been contacted through the outreach component of the work.

Role of the Media: Communications on a Shoestring!

The focus to the second phase included more media outreach. A local television station came on board and filmed three separate "bits" for inclusion in the evening news. Phone numbers were included and approximately twenty-five calls were received after each segment aired.

Cable channels were wonderfully useful in getting out the message. They are often looking for interesting bits of community work and were more than willing to share air time and film educational segments. Tax Force interviews ran for six weeks at a time; all were free.

Cultivating friendships with reporters from the local newspaper daily was more difficult. Unless there was a public event to invite the press to it was almost impossible to get any significant coverage.

How we avoided the fizzle, or life after the Animator!

At the end of the ten months of development by a paid animator the London Tax and Area Tax Force had "regularized" itself into a group with a clear purpose, direction, work plan, method of communicating with the FTC, and operating parameters which included an established and reputable sponsor.

The group decided on their Chairman, a representative from the Social Planning Council. The Council agreed to sponsor the work of the Tax Force, handle the small budget allocation and assist with putting together a day-long forum on low-income/wealth in the new year. In place was a system for Tax Force members to request a budget allocation for mailing, events, etc.

With the conclusion of paid animator time, the Tax Force was poised to move forward of its own volition or just decide to disband. The group decided that they had not accomplished enough in the area of low-income work and decided to investigate this area of concern for the remaining months. Meetings were set and the work continue.

Avoiding the "fizzle" was a function of ensuring that enough members of the group had ownership, that is, low-income poverty relief was important to the single moms in the group or that the tenant representatives could see the inequities in the property taxation system. The group was then asked to develop its own structure which ensured the work was evenly distributed and people did not feel burdened by the request to contribute to the FTC. By avoiding burn-out of a few ardent supporters, supporting with relevant education materials and knowledgeable speakers the group felt strong enough to continue.

If we had to do it again, what would we do differently?

For the state to listen effectively to the public it must make itself understandable. Education must be the focus to any technical consultation requesting the input of those unfamiliar with the subject. Without education people become disempowered and fail to come forward with their opinions.

The work of the Tax Force would have been enhanced greatly had there been sufficient and adequate educational materials early in its development; it took a long time to overcome this handicap. Members of the Tax Force felt unsure of themselves with out adequate supports; some members stopped coming to meetings.

There was a general feeling by the early Tax Force that the Commissioners were untouchable and unreachable, had they been slightly more accessible earlier in the process - people might have seen the value and importance of their volunteer efforts.

It is also important to be clear from the onset (in this kind of consultation work) on the focus for those involved: Did the FTC want community development (long-term and slow), quick media hype - (easy to get but not long lasting) or significant discussion available from those already familiar with the tax system?

It was very helpful to finally decide which of those questions needed to be answered; the London contribution to the FTC progressed very quickly once the focus was clarified.

Animating Democracy: The Fair Tax Commission in Ottawa-Carleton

Dennis Lewycky

View from a Distance

The Fair Tax Commission (FTC) public Consultation sought to inform people about taxes and the potential for reform, and to motivate them to speak out on what they think should be changed to create a fair or at least a fairer tax system.

Over a ten month period in 1992 printed information was sent out to about 250 community organizations in the Ottawa-Carleton region, a least 10 presentations were made to a total of 130 people, 20 discussions were held with organizational representatives and five large public meetings were held that involved about 225 people. The local Tax Force of 12 volunteers met repeatedly over the year to support the consultation and volunteers continued to work on their own into 1993.

Clearly people have spoken out on tax reform. To a degree public commentary on local tax issues has emerged from the community Forums and group discussions. Therefore the FTC has created new opportunities for the public to influence tax policy. However, groups of people who have been removed from such opportunties in the past and who were a priority for the consultation have not been involved significantly. They have not been motivated to enter the tax debate as yet, though ongoing efforts to involve them may yet succeed.

The full impact of this consultation will not be observed until the FTC Hearings take place and the level and nature of intervention is observed. The legislative changes to the tax system that the Ontario government initiates will ultimately reflect the substantive impact of the consultative process.

Activities and Accomplishments

Three animators (one was Francophone) were hired for the Ottawa-Carleton area and started working in early 1992. Half way through the year one animator left the project and budgetary changes left the programme with only one animator, fewer resources available for the animation and a new emphasis on public profile for the consultation in addition to the education and information sharing requirements.

Generally, the FTC consultation was able to deliver certain tangible results.

Between January and October 1992;
* the Ottawa-Carleton Tax Force was organized and 14 meetings were held
* presentations were made to 10 community based groups/organizations

* the animator assisted with and participated in a major public meeting organized by a community health and social service centre (about 100 took part)
* the animator participated in three meetings on Market Value Assessment organized by City of Ottawa Councillors
* the animator responded to about two dozen calls for information
* two major programmes on taxation were seen on cable television, one in English and the other in French
* and FTC Commissioner spoke to the Ottawa-Carleton Board of Trade
* the Tax Force organized and held four public forums (25-40 people at each); Municipal Taxation and Services
Commerce, Industry and Taxes,Quality of Life and Taxes and Fair Tax Policy
* through the Action Centre for Social Justice, a special meeting was organzied to discuss tax issues with Francophones and a working committee was established.

In the Ottawa-Carleton area, a significant number of people were contacted and became better informed about taxes and the reform process. People who expressed an interest in tax reform were given serious opportunities to have input to the Commission and many acquired new information on tax matters they were interested in. Two groups that are fighting Market-Value Assessment (MVA) felt they were denied access to local government channels, and were able to use the consultation as a vehicle for their concerns.

The public meetings provided the Commission with a credible profile in the community and in particular with area politicians (one Forum was co-sponsored by the Regional Government). The Commission was seen to be reaching out to community groups and individuals in a direct manner. This is significant considering the general public scepticism of consultations and the traditional arms-length approach of most government commissions.

On the other hand, though a main objective of the consultation was to reach out to people normally excluded from public policy formation, this did not happen in a comprehensive way. Though this group of people remained a priority, the need to broaden the reach and profile of the consultation (due to budget and strategy changes in June '92) meant other requirements competed for resouces and time and dominated the consultation. In the end, low income earners and Francophones did not get the support and therefore were not as involved as was sought by the animator and Tax Force. Since the animator left the project, some outreach has continued with low income groups and Francophones, which will likely lead to their presentations before the Commission Hearings.

Also, though difficult to measure, there is a sense that the quality of public participation in the consultation was not as substantive as desired or as possible. For example there was a cross-section of social interest and debate in the meetings, but it was not comprehensive as groups like organized labour did not get involved in the consultation (due to other policy pressures).

Planning the Participation

It was felt that priority participants in the consultation,i.e. people normally excluded from formal policy consultation, would be extremely reluctant to get involved in the tax reform process because of their lack of experience, scepticism about the government's ability to appreciate their input and competition with other major needs in their lives.

For many potential participantstaxes would be seen as extremely complex and confusing - the subject of experts!

Normally it is the middle class and business people that are most inclined to be interested in taxation as they are experiencing the direct effects of tax increases and a deterioration in their ability to maintain their lifestyles.

Face-to-face interaction was identified as the central feature of the approach used to consult the people in the Ottawa-Carleton area. While reaching out to people requires a number of factors, it was felt it was most important to put people in direct contact where they could hear from and discuss tax issues with others. In this way it was thought possible to somewhat personalize taxissues, deal directly with peoples scepticism and adapt assistance to those wanting to take part in tax reform. While initial views of taxation may have been abstract for many people, it was thought possible to make concrete contacts to compensate.

The consultation method therefore involved four dimensions;

a) The volunteer Tax Force of about 12 members met monthly to coordinate and direct the local consultation. Delegates from the group attended the community conference (Toronto, April) and a follow up meetings with Commissioners (September and November). They were instrumental in designing and providing logistical support for the Forums. Without their energy, experience and commitment the consultation would not have accomplished what it did. Individuals were chosen for their community contacts, broad social representation and personal commitment to social input to public policy.

b) Public events that included the four local Forums, presentations to meetings held around the Market Value Assessment and participation in the AGM of a large community health centre. Most of the participants in these events were property owners, small business people or those on fixed income such as seniors. These meetings were opportunities for people to hear from others about common concerns and to interact with the FTC, not just read about tax reform.

c) Direct discussions were held with individuals and small executive groups involved in different organizations. The animator tried to establish personal contact with individuals and organizations through phone calls, office contacts and small meetings. Presentations were then made at events that were already organized as part of regular organizational activities. These contacts were initially seen as the core activiity in reaching out to the community. On the basis of organic interest and these personal contacts it was felt further educational efforts could be planned, though very little response materialized.

d) Printed materials were distributed by mail to about 60 central community organizations in Ottawa-Carleton. Early in the year these organizations received the FTC Handbook plus a letter explaining what the consultation was and who was behind it. Then during the summer and fall, notices went out informing and inviting organizations to the Community Forums. The mailings were planned as a mechanism of maintaining interest and building a community network of interested organizations.

Within this strategy, the news media were expected to play a supportive role, but not a high profile central role. News coverage was not seen as critical though obviously the profile provided could enhance the credibility of the consultation. Information was sent to all major news outlets (about 25 radio, TV and press), this was followed up by Faxed news releases just before the events, and then phone calls to key journalists who have followed tax or municipal issues. The response was extremely weak. There was no serious coverage by the large press or radio. At the initial Forums there was some media presence and coverage but this did not continue through to the last Forum. There was good coverage on cable television (which generated surprisingly positive reaction) and three of 15 community papers that were contacted printed articles on taxation and poverty written by the Action Centre for Social Justice (with FTC help and information).

People and Community Profile

For most people across Ontario, Ottawa is the nation's capital, a wealthy ("fat cat") city of 300,000 civil servants living on the beautiful banks of the Ottawa River. The dominant images of Ottawa often include the manicured parks and amenities, a relatively affluent and stable economy and the home for Canada's high-brow culture.

But Ottawa is two cities. The other Ottawa is that of the small agricultural town in the Ottawa Valley, characterized by country music and 'upper Canada' traditions. This is the Ottawa that is more Canadian in its broad populist nature and which suffers the same economic struggles facing people in the rest of the country. There is poverty in this Ottawa, a broad mix of ethnic backgrounds and people who have deep family roots here.

The FTC consultation sought to work with the latter Ottawa, the community that was much like communities across Ontario. And within this community the focus on people who have been excluded from other public policy consultations. Therefore there was an effort to reach out to low income people, visible minorities, new

Canadians, small businesses, Francophones, rural dwellers and womens' groups. While the consultation was open to 'big business' and professional groups, these were not actively sought out to participate.

The local debate over market value assessment was both an asset and liability to this process of participation. There was a great deal of media coverage, local Councillors held public meetings on MVA and regional tax assessment information was mailed to property owners, so that there was a fairly high public profile to issues of taxation. However, MVA then tended to dominate FTC Forums and distort the media's interest in other serious tax issues (such as the environment, a minimum corporate tax, consumption taxes and the general impact of taxes on the poor).

Therefore views that have been expressed at the Community Forums for example have been thoughtful and provocative, but mainly reflective of middle class perspectives (those of home owners, small business and seniors). The advocates of the poor, women and the disabled spoke out, but the people themselves have not spoken out. The voice of native people, women's groups and those with disabilities was not heard and working people were not represented in a visible articulated way.

Observations with Hindsight

Looking back on the consultation, there are likely things that could have been done better or differently.

Had there had been more and better publicity for the public events, participation may have been higher. Media space was not bought nor extra time spent cultivating news media attention. The strategy was to personally reach out to groups and use the media to create a broad interest. Considering the low turn out at meetings, more publicity may have brought people out.

More and personal follow up with organizational and individual contacts to work on specific tax issues may have led to stronger interest and demonstrated motivation to get involved.
If the Forums had been conceived as working meetings on specific tax recommendations, drawing on the existing knowledge and direct interest of a smaller group of people, they may have generated more concrete commentary andstrategies for change. This approach may have been a stronger nucleus for attracting others to joint the consultation rather that the higher profile and more general issues approach that was implemented.

If Commissioners had been more visible earlier in the process, we may have had more of a public profile and then a greater means of attracting participation.
As it was, the Commissioners only entered the public debate at the end of the year.

The lack of popularized materials early in the outreach was a draw back but not a determining factor of group participation. It would have helped with somegroups to have materials that were dramatic and visual, easy to read and convenient to duplicate for their members.

The tangible objectives set out for the consultation were therefore clearly met.

Consultation support was provided by the Tax Force members, high quality preparation was put into the public events, there was direct and enthusiastic response to requests for information or help, and there was a thorough flow of information between the FTC and the Tax Force.

However, the consultation programme may have ended before it had generated the kind of interest or knowledge needed to motivate people from the lower reaches of the economy to take advantage of the FTC opportunity to promote their views.
There seemed to be too little time to develop the depth of knowledge needed to speak out on a very complex set of issues. The foundation was laid for a different dialogue with the Commission but more time and direct support of
specific low income Francophone groups was needed.

VIVE LA DIFFÉRENCE: ARE INSTITUTIONS RESPONDING TO MULTIPLE ROLE WOMEN'S LEARNING NEEDS?

VIVE LA DIFFÉRENCE: LES INSTITUTIONS RÉPONDENT-ELLES AUX BESOINS DES ÉTUDIANTES AVEC RÔLES MULTIPLES?

Alice Home, Ph.D.
Visiting Professor
School of Social Work
University of Ottawa

ABSTRACT

This paper compares students', faculty, department chairs' and employers' views on multiple role women's needs and institutional supports available in universities and the workplace. Data from 45 interviews conducted in 7 adult education and social work programmes are analyzed in light of adult education theory.

Cet article compare différentes perspectives sur les besoins d'étudiantes universitaires avec rôles multiples ainsi que sur le soutien social institutionnel qui leur est offert. Nous analysons alors 45 entretiens réalisés auprès d'étudiantes (en service social ou en andragogie), de professeur–e–s, de directeur/trices de département et d'employeur–e–s.

INTRODUCTION

Adult educators have always been committed to helping people pursue learning without abandoning other adult roles. Programmes have been set up in various educational, workplace and community settings, in an effort to accommodate learners who are unable to devote themselves entirely to study. Adaptations in pace, scheduling and place of learning have enabled many adults to attend university, but in recent years there are increasing numbers of adult women combining university study with both family and work responsibilities. Their learning needs are different from those of adults coping with only work and study. Do universities and employers show institutional commitment to supporting these nontraditional learners, or do they still treat the family, the university and the workplace as separate worlds? (Googins & Bowden 1987). This paper presents results of a SSHRC – supported study, conducted in partnership with CASAE. The paper begins with a brief outline of the theoretical and methodological framework, along with a summary of student data, as these aspects have been published elsewhere (Home & Lemaire 1991). The central focus is on analyzing data from 25 interviews with professors of adult education or social work and with selected employers.

The **theoretical framework** focuses on the multiple role experience and supports available. The former includes the actual role situation (demands) and the extent of role strain (felt difficulty in meeting role demands). Role strain includes overload (time constraints), conflict from incompatible demands and contagion when events in one role affect performance in another (Goode 1960, Coverman 1989). Intensity of role demands can vary with flexibility and overtime requirements at work, stage and level of study as well as number, age or special needs of dependent family members. Prior research suggests women feel added strain from parenting due to their primary family role combined with low power (Barnett & Baruch 1985). Role conflict is most likely when both parenting demands and work commitment are strong (Froberg et al. 1985). Students with support systems report less conflict (Menks & Tupper 1987, Dyk 1987), but adults see the university as less tolerant and supportive than do younger students (Kuh & Sturgis, 1980). Tangible university support ranges from removing obvious barriers through making separate, lower status "adult" programmes available to integrating adaptations into regular offerings (Ackell et al. 1982). Adaptations usually involve offering flexible schedules, programmes, admissions or administrative procedures and student services geared to adult needs and timetables (Coats 1989). Faculty helpfulness (emotional support and flexibility) is a strong predictor of adult student satisfaction (Kirk & Dorfman 1983). Workplace support can include a positive attitude, flexible hours or unpaid leave, reimbursement of expenses and rewards upon completion. Paid leave is granted mainly to men and at the pleasure of the employer, but those receiving it report less fatigue and stress (Thomas 1983, Spears & Potter 1987, Bélanger et al. 1985). Most support, however, comes from students' families rather than from institutional sources (Hobfoll, 1986).

The **methodology** involved using Miles & Huberman's (1984) qualitative approach and a purposive contrast sampling strategy designed to include a diversity of departments and respondents (Patton 1982). The 3 adult education departments and 4 social work schools vary in size, location, language of instruction and extent of adaptation to an adult clientele. Two faculty and the chair of each department/school were interviewed. While the 20 selected students were all women aged 25 or over who carried parenting and paid work roles, they differed on all other variables (such as role demands, ethnicity, age). Similarly, the 13 faculty had varying teaching philosophies, work responsibilities and life situations. The 5 selected employers represented private companies and public institutions of various sizes which employ adult educators and/or social workers. Interview guides were developed and pre-tested for each type of actor. Semi-structured interviews were taped, transcribed and analyzed, using a coding scheme developed by two researchers working independently, then refined to enhance validity and reliability (Miles & Huberman 1984). The Ethnograph qualitative analysis programme was used to enter and sort data by code, in preparation for content analysis by theme. Data from various sources were compared to highlight differences and similarities in perception. The population included 7 women studying adult education and 13 in social work. Two-thirds were part-time students, but all 7 full-time students were in social work. Most mothers of younger children chose part-time study unless programme or financial aid requirements made full-time study obligatory. Eight were French-speaking, three of which were immigrants, while one Canadian-born English-speaking student was from a visible minority group. When interviewing was carried out (1990-91), only one woman chaired a department (compared to 4/7 in 1993); eight of the other 13 faculty interviewed were women. No faculty were from visible minorities but one had a disability. Thirteen were English-speaking, and eight (including 3 chairs) worked in departments classified as "adapted" because they offered major adaptations as part of regular degree programmes (Ackell et al., 1982). In general, the sample interviewed for this study is as diversified as the population from which it is drawn, but caution should be exercised in interpreting the findings because of the small sample size. This is particularly true of the 5 employers.

FINDINGS: LEARNING HOW TO JUGGLE OR TO SUPPORT JUGGLERS

The student data indicated that while there are costs to having multiple roles, there are also many benefits. For some, it was the only way to get a university degree which might help them move out of the "pink ghetto", while for others "being successful while doing all these things is tremendously self-esteem building". Juggling meant they developed, of necessity, organizational and time managements skills and their families became more autonomous. Faculty also pointed to the benefits multiple role women bring. Sixty percent saw them as highly motivated, eager to learn and "determined to succeed despite the obstacles." Stimulating to teach, these students brought a practical focus and extensive life/work experience to the learning encounter. These data about the benefits to self and others of adult learning confirms several themes in the literature (Long 1983). As one professor put it: "when it works, everyone benefits".

But it doesn't always work well. Both students and faculty noted that MR women face time constraints (role overload), pressure from simultaneous conflicting demands and contagion when there is spillover between roles. Role conflict was a fact of life for almost all students and was especially stressful when there were family crises at the time assignments were due. Only half the faculty noted role conflict, presumably because women attempt negotiation with professors or employers only when family bargaining fails (Lemaire 1991). Time constraints were seen as the major difficulty by both students and faculty. The latter lamented that these women operate "on the squeaky wheel principle" because they're "spread too thin". Students were unhappy with playing "Mother Octopus" because it leads to guilt and exhaustion. As one student put it, "every time I was doing one thing, something else wasn't getting done". Students made it clear, however, that family and financial obligations left them little manoeuvring room to plan their learning pace or priorities. While faculty were sensitive to the pressures these women were experiencing, some wondered why they had not planned more realistically: "A lot of people come in with the idea that this will work just fine, they can just go to school and be with their family and work or whatever". Ironically, students in distance programmes with no specific course timetables may have more trouble completing unless they are very self-disciplined and autonomous. While these programmes appear easier as they reduce role conflict in times of family crisis, "students find it far more difficult than they ever imagined it was going to be."

Although role overload and conflict were the major manifestations of role strain, some students and faculty reported contagion. Faculty noted that family worries impeded concentration in class while the students pointed to spillover in both directions. One woman noted that she would be pushing her toddler on a swing while worrying about an exam, and her "not being there" was picked up by the child who began acting up to get attention. Another woman described an incident of combined role conflict and contagion, when her adolescent daughter had an acting out episode in the middle of a take home exam:

> I sat in front of that exam for two days without understanding a thing – it was as if it was written in a foreign language. Finally, I was able to do it because another student helped me and my parents were willing to take my daughter for a few days.

It is interesting to note that conflict and contagion occurred mainly between family and student roles, perhaps because both make unpredictable demands and because student/parent work is never really done. Students found it easier to compartmentalize paid work demands, which were restricted in time and place. This was the case especially for students who had part–time positions unrelated to their studies. They benefitted less from positive spillover (applying learning at work) but were more able to manage work/study/family conflicts than those in professional or managerial positions (Lemaire, 1991). In keeping with previous research, role strain was more intense for women working full–time and also among those caring for young or special needs children whose demands were stronger and more inflexible (Froberg et al. 1986). Social work students reported more role conflict, overload and contagion than did women studying adult education, perhaps because more were full–time students, many faced financial stress and social work programmes tend to be less flexible because of the field work component. In addition, adult education students used more effective and diversified coping strategies than did social work students (Lemaire, 1991).

Both students and faculty highlighted some other difficulties that go with the multiple role situation. They noted that MR students face financial strain and insecurity due to high costs (especially for single parents) coupled with limited access to financial aid, subsidized day care and housing. For part–timers, the study process seemed to go on forever: "it was like leaving the dishes overnight knowing you had to get up for them in the morning, except it was three years long". Institutional obstacles brought on by the "lingering image of the ideal student as young, male and full–time" were matched by a "lack of institutional support for multiple role students", and inadequate financial support for adapted programmes and policies. Finally, both students and faculty noted dispositional obstacles such as rusty study or writing skills, lack of confidence or assertiveness (Cross, 1981). Yet remedial action was difficult because students lacked time to get help and because services were available only during regular office hours.

While these students' high motivation and strong organizational skills undoubtedly help them succeed, they also rely on **emotional and tangible support**. Most support came from non–institutional sources such as families and peers (friends and fellow students), consistent with Hobfoll's (1986) findings. Even when support came from institutional sources, it tended to be informal in nature. Consistent with Kirk & Dorfman's (1983) findings, individual faculty were seen as the main source of university support. Most students and faculty noted two main components to a supportive faculty response. An understanding attitude, recognizing that these women were "juggling an awful lot" was the basis for responding appropriately. Women faculty who were themselves jugglers had an easier time empathizing because they had "been there". One admired how some MR women managed to attend class or get assignments done, given all they have to contend with:

> I look around the classroom and I think "how many lunches did you make and how many beds and how many messes did you clean up and how many fights did you adjudicate?"... so I look out sometimes at their faces and I think, "boy that's really something that you're here!"

The informal encouragement and respect offered by some faculty was reflected in a flexible response to role conflict and overload situations faced by these students. Some faculty extended term paper deadlines, offered flexible assignment options and structured in peer helping or group project time within class hours. A small number went the extra distance by committing scarce personal work time and energy to extra tutorials, counselling, or advocacy for students in difficulty. Some were involved in affirmative action committees, in setting up or defending outreach and distance programmes regarded as luxury items by budget–conscious universities. They did this out of strong commitment to MR women, even though they rarely got support or recognition for their efforts from the larger university system. A second level of responsiveness was at the departmental level, where MR women's other roles were respected and it was recognized that "school isn't everyone's entire reason for existing", especially in adult education departments and "adapted" schools of social work. More traditional social work schools featured a few supportive professors and occasional nontraditional scheduling but lacked formal commitment. Both schools and departments located in traditional universities were forced to expend more energy to obtain needed flexibility and services because of institutional hostility or indifference: "We have fought a great many battles on behalf of individuals trying to get extensions on their theses, trying to get them reinstated after their time has elapsed, trying to get money for them."

Increased sensitivity to MR women's needs is not always expressed in supportive policies and practices. In the words of one professor, "despite pockets of understanding... we bow more to the wind of university regulations than to the breeze of student need". Faculty identified some obstacles that stand in the way of responsiveness. One was the highly diversified life situations of MR women, which meant that the usual adaptations made for working adults don't always work. Late afternoon and evening courses are difficult for mothers of school–aged students while on-site intensive sessions are expensive and disruptive for families. A second obstacle lies in the multi–faceted nature of the professorial role coupled with the reward structure of universities. While all faculty are expected to teach, do research and participate in community/university committee work, traditional universities give highest priority to research and lowest to service, while vigorously denying this hierarchy. Time devoted to adapting programmes or teaching methods is not available for producing research, so "there's no return on it as far as promotion and tenure are concerned." This problem is particulary thorny for multiple role female professors, who have been socialized to put the service component first, yet feel guilty devoting family time to research activities or to evening and weekend classes. Like their multiple role students, these professors often feel guilty no matter what they "choose".

FINDINGS: UNIVERSITY AND WORKPLACE POLICIES

Some of the department chairs' views were presented in the foregoing discussion; in this section, their responses to questions on adapting policy and practice are discussed. Employers' responses to similar questions are presented along with some data from the author's 1990 survey of Canadian adult education departments and schools of social work (N=28). The latter indicated that average student age is rising (mean age is 29–37), women form 65–82% of the population, most hold at least 2 roles and are involved in paid work. Over 75% of the departments offer some minimal adaptations (part–time status and adapted schedules) for this increasing adult clientele. In Ackell's (1982) terms, most have removed obvious barriers. However, less than half offer more costly, complicated options such as intensive, distance/satellite programmes or adapted admissions criteria. Cross tabulation analysis showed these options were offered more often by adult education than by social work departments ($p<.05$). The qualitative data supported this finding. All 3 adult education departments offered 4 or 5 adaptations but social work schools' ability to adapt was influenced by the wider university climate. For example, while all 3 adult education departments had formal procedures for assessing prior learning, these were found in only 2 "adapted" schools. Similarly, 3 of the 4 programmes forced to close satellite centres due to university concern about cost efficiency were social work schools, and all but one were in traditional universities. Adult education departments in these same universities were more successful in defending nontraditional options. Department heads indicated that the impetus to develop these options usually came from student demand/feedback or from tangible indices of unmet need (high dropout rate or low registration). Some requests came from outside groups such as employers or professional associations. External support, such as political influence or informal contacts with key administrations, plays a key role. Inadequate financial support can kill even the most innovative programme. However, lack of material support can reflect low political commitment, particularly in traditional settings where outreach is a low priority. Finally, low faculty commitment can impede the development of options requiring investment of time (assessing prior learning) or rearranging teaching and consultation schedules.

The limited employer data suggest it is not easy for the workplace to support university–based learning in an era of "downsizing and restructuring". Continuing education was seen as an essential way to update knowledge, respond to new needs or populations and adapt to technological change. However, cost efficiency considerations mean employers are most favourable to education which occurs in the workplace, in the form of short courses on content deemed essential for maintaining high quality work. Actual financial commitment (paid educational days) varied with organization size, access to resources and the priority placed on continuing education. University study met with less enthusiasm, except in one case where a joint university–government programme had strong political and financial support. Obstacles to supporting university study include high costs, collective agreement, problems related to replacing key employees and the difficult economic climate. Those most likely to get formal tangible support (reimbursement of fees, paid or unpaid leave) were permanent employees seeking career change or mobility who were likely to remain with the organization. When there is a lack of personnel with a particular degree, support is more likely, but only 2 of the 5 employers offered paid leave. Flexible work schedules were frequently arranged informally, especially where learning projects might bring some direct benefit to the workplace such as proposing solutions to a problem. Student data confirmed that where colleagues and supervisors were convinced of the value of their learning, informal support was offered not only in a tangible from (use of computers or photocopies) but also on an emotional level. However, many students in non–professional jobs saw the workplace as neither a source of stress nor of support; it was simply a means of survival.

In **conclusion**, the various actors interviewed for this study suggested there is new sensitivity to the learning needs of MR women. However, faculty and employers felt "caught between really understanding and not being able to totally respond". Support and understanding are available, but often on an informal basis. As in the larger societal context, the burden of learning in spite of other commitments still "falls squarely on the shoulders of the women". Multiple role students have an enormous contribution to make as adult educators, because they can understand their students' learning situations and be a model to them. But they can only do so if they get adequate emotional and tangible supports from the university and the workplace. As one professor said: "We have done a little bit... but we could be a lot better in making our programme a conducive place for working moms with kids or moms going back to school."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ackell, E. et al. (1982). Adapting the university to adult students: A developmental perspective. Continuum, 46(2), 30–35.

Barnett, R.C., & Baruch, G.K. (1985). Women's involvement in multiple roles and psychological distress. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49(1), 135–145.

Bélanger, A., Derarue–Rivoire, M., Dufesne–Tasse, C., Lefebvre, A., Marx, E., & Ane, L. (1985). Reprise d'études à l'université et congé individuel de formation. Activité de la formation permanente, 85, 46–63.

Coats, M. (1989). Support for women learners. Adult Learning, 1(4), 104–105.

Coverman, S. (1989). Role overload, role conflict and stress – Addressing consequences of multiple role demands. Social Forces, 67(4), 965–982.

Cross, P. (1981). Adults as learners. San Francisco: Jossey–Bass.

Dyk, P. (1987). Graduate student management of family and academic roles. Family Relations, 36, 329–332.

Froberg, D., Gjerdingen, D., & Preston, M. (1986). Multiple roles and women's mental and physical health: What have we learned? Women and Health, 11(2), 79–86.

Goode, W. (1960). A theory of role strain. American Sociological Review, 25, 483–496.

Home, A., & Lemaire, C. (1991). Multiple role women studying adult education: Literature review and preliminary results. Proceedings of the 10th Annual CASAE Conference. Kingstion. p. 118–127.

Hobfoll, S. (1986). Social support: Research, theory and applications from research on women. In Hobfoll, S. (Ed.), Stress, social support and women. Washington: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation. 239–256.

Kirk, C., & Dorfman, L. (1983). Satisfaction and role strain among older re–entry women students. Educational Gerontology, 9(1), 15–29.

Kuh, G., & Sturgis, J. (1980). Looking at the university through different sets of lens: Adult learners and traditional age students' perceptions of the university environment. Journal of College Student Personnel, 483–490.

Lemaire, C. (1992). Le défi des rôles multiples: stratégies utilisées par les femmes. Intervention, 91, 48–56.

Long, H. (1983). Adult Learning: Research and practice. New York: Cambridge.

Menks, F., & Tupper. L. (1987). Role conflict in occupational therapy student parents. American Journal of Occupational Therapy, 41(1), 21–27.

Miles, M. & Huberman, M. (1984). Qualitative data analysis. London, Sage.

Patton, M. (1982). Qualitative evaluation methods. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Spears, J., & Potter, J. (1987). A profile of adult learners at the University of New Brunswick. Fredericton: Department of Extension and Summer Session.

Thomas, A. (1983). Skill development leave: Stages to Universal Acess. Skill Development Leave Task Force Background Paper, No. 9. Toronto, OISE.

ADULT EDUCATION AND WORKPLACE LEARNING

Leif Hommen, Tom Nesbit, Kjell Rubenson
University of British Columbia

Economic restructuring has created new linkages between adult education and the world of work. This symposium considers the implications of changing occupational skill requirements for the formation of new educational partnerships. Workplace education is discussed as an opportunity for unions to advance industrial democracy and the humanization of work.

Des réformes de la structure économique a crée des liaisons nouvelles entre l'éducation des adultes et le monde du travail. Ce colloque considère les implications des compétences changées de la main d'oeuvre pour la fondation des associations nouvelles. L'éducation des ouvriers est discutée comme une opportunite pour le mouvement syndical d'avancer la démocratie industrielle et la humanisation du travail.

Participation in Employer Sponsored Education: A Second Creaming

The present developments in the economy and the changing relationship between economy, state and adult education bring to life several fundamental issues around the relationship between participation in adult education and the world of work. The present policy discussions are framed within a new politico-economic imperative that places importance on highly developed human capital, science and technology to support Canada's needs for economic restructuring and greater international competitiveness. Lifelong learning has become the catchword of the day, and the panacea for the problematic relationship between education and the economy, now exacerbated by the emergent information economy. What was in the 1960s a demand for more education for more young people has in the 1990s become a debate about lifelong learning, training and education for adults and a focus upon the world of work as a place of learning.

Looking at policy documents from various countries written during the 1980s, the erosion of a commitment to equality and the total dominance of the economic imperative is very evident. This is not only an effect of the evolving information economy and the focus on global economic competitiveness but also a result of the ascendancy of a politico-economic perspective that hails the market and sees any involvement of government as something evil in itself. Within this perspective, accountability, standards, relevance to the needs of the economy and cost effectiveness have become the key issues, not equality. While the "utopianists" of the 1970s gave serious attention to the prerequisites for the realization of lifelong learning, this is not the case within the economic imperative. The major problem with the present discussion on lifelong learning is that it neglects to critically examine some of the underlying assumptions regarding the changing nature of work and effects of work on the unequal development of the instruments necessary to engage in lifelong learning across class and ethnicity. Using data from the 1992 Adult Education and Training Survey, the purpose of this presentation is to show how employer sponsored education acts as a second creaming.

The allocation of work roles influences participation in at least three ways. First, certain roles provide more opportunities to take part in adult education than others. The participation pattern is linked to the work hierarchy, and the more qualified the position the more common it is that an employer will sponsor some form of education and/or training. The results of the 1992 Adult Training Survey indicate that adults with a university degree were nine times more likely to have participated in employer sponsored education than those with only an elementary education (5 versus 44 per cent).

Not only does the participation rate differ greatly by level of occupation but so does the nature of the education and training. Sixty-three per cent of those with a university degree who had participated had taken a course outside their organization, compared to 40 per cent of those with only an elementary education The latter had mainly followed some shorter course of an orientation nature or on-the-job training. It is worth noting that hardly any of the educational disadvantaged received an education through work that in a substantial way would alter their educational status.

Second, those in higher positions have by far the best chances to learn on the job. The differences existing among various groups entering the labour market become more and more pronounced throughout the life span. Those who are favoured find themselves in a work situation which is constantly generating a need for knowledge, while the complete opposite applies to those who suffer de-qualification.

Third, allocation of roles has an indirect impact which has to do with how the "objective world" influences the perception of reality. Thus, mental structures are inevitably formed differently in different societal and historical settings (Mannheim, 1936, p. 238). This is reflected, for example, in the established relationship between job design and the individual's life outside of work.which supports Leontjev's thesis on the link between praxis of work and our structures for thinking (Leontjev, 1983). Larsson (1986) found that non-skilled workers with little formal education in occupations that offered limited possibilities for growth were characterized by a very restrictive conception of adult education. According to this restricted view, it is only when participation in adult education results in better and higher paying work that it is meaningful. Thus it is not strange that the difference in the 1992 Adult Education and Training Survey between the well educated and the educationally disadvantaged was even greater for non-employer sponsored education. These and other findings from the survey could be understood within a two broad debates a) the consequences of technological change on skills and competencies, and b) industrial democracy and the humanization of work.

There is substantial evidence to show that there is not a general development towards higher skilled jobs but rather towards a bifurcated labour market with the middle level disappearing, particularly in North America (Myles, 1988; Kunin & Knauf, 1992).

It is important to note that, despite the general cry for a better qualified workforce and worries about skill shortages, new technologies do not themselves result in demands for higher qualifications or better possibilities for employees to develop and broaden their skills. On the contrary, the research literature is full of contradictory findings with claims of de-skilling, up-skilling, polarization and re-skilling (not more but different qualifications needed). There are good reasons to be skeptical of the more optimistic as well as the more pessimistic positions. Both are expressions of technological determinism which holds that technology will more or less automatically result in positive or negative effects on skill demands and opportunities for the development of competencies. A more plausible position, and one that has support in recent research is that the consequences of new technology on the demand for and development of competencies depend on the interplay of the nature of technology, implementation strategies, work organization and the competencies of the workforce. It is the strategy of how technology is used, not the technology itself, that determines what kind of skills are needed and hence governs the employees opportunities for developing their competencies Thus the question of skills cannot be discussed from a narrow economic perspective on efficiency but also has to be understood in terms of labour's struggle for humanization of work and workplace democracy.

In short, the literature on structural changes in the labour market or studies of links between new production technologies and skill requirements support the findings that work produces very unequal opportunities for lifelong learning. To assume that the market forces in some mysterious way are creating a general demand for lifelong learning will only further increase the gap between the well educated and the educationally disadvantaged.

Skills, Labour Markets, and Training: Challenges for Organized Labour

Industrial restructuring has confronted organized labour with the massive displacement of narrowly qualified semi-skilled labour, the concomitant erosion of skilled labour, and the altered "human resource" requirements of advanced manufacturing technologies, which make identification with the goals of the company the basis of a new arrangement between management and workforce. Under these conditions, the basis of unions' power in the enterprise shifts from skilled workers with considerable mobility on the external labour market to "core" workers, whose plant-specific skills do not confer an equivalent bargaining power (Drache and Glasbeek 1989). This loss of power is especially pronounced in "a situation which is characterised by an enterprise-centred segmentation of the labour market" (Papadimitriou 1986: 48), combined with "a continuing employment crisis" (Brandt 1986: 66).

These circumstances exacerbate a basic contradiction between "skill development" as an aspect of work experience and "skill construction" as a labour market process. Historically, the manner in which "tacit" occupational skills are transmitted and utilized in production systems as the collective property of workers (Manwaring and Wood 1985, Wood 1987) has conflicted with the manner in which skills are defined, valued, and mobilized as "human capital" through market mechanisms based on the individualized wage-relation (Adler 1988, Burawoy 1985: 35 - 40). The power that workers have been able to derive from effective control over informal processes of skill development that necessarily occur "on the job" has been effectively counteracted and limited by employers' power to control the formal construction of "firm specific" job skills, resulting in "bureaucratic" labour control within the firm and segmentation of the external labour market (Gordon, Edwards, and Reich 1982: 16). Equitable arrangements have typically developed only in large, monopolistic enterprises, and have been able to provide organized workers with a favourable distribution of "training benefits" such as employment security and job promotion only under stable or expansive economic conditions (Burawoy 1985: 141 - 143, 148 - 152, Shalev 1980). With the reversal of these conditions, unions face strong pressures to establish independent control over job-skill definitions and formal training, relying on the state to guarantee such arrangements.

Organized labour's priorities in "skill bargaining" have shifted toward a greater concern with the provision of training and retraining in "portable" employment skills, combined with strenuous advocacy of public "social insurance" and labour adjustment programs (Cornfield 1987: 8 - 24). However, unions also seek to develop forms of general training that will enhance their strategic position within the internal labour market by preserving and building upon "tacit" skills acquired through work experience (Rainbird 1988). These considerations recommend public labour market policies that act to reverse the effect of market forces on patterns of employment and skill formation by enhancing the internal mobility of "peripheral" (unskilled or semi-skilled) workers within firms while increasing the potential mobility of "core" (skilled) workers within the external labour market (Mahon 1987). This strategy entails the development of a public employment and training system that, in addition to providing unions with a central role in formulating and implementing policies, involves strong central mechanisms for determining national standards and programs, coordinated with regional and local mechanisms that enjoy considerable latitude in program modification and delivery, permitting flexibility in the regulation of firm and industry labour markets (Muszynski and Wolfe 1989: 261).

From this perspective, it is essential that labour organizations play a central role in regulating the private provision of training and employment within firms, as well as participating in the formation of relevant public training and employment policies (Ogden 1992). Where these conditions are met, firm-based training can provide an improved matching of qualifications to specific tasks of production, as well as generating a stock of occupational skills transferable to employment in other firms, even if they are located in different industries (Weiermair 1984: 53 - 59). The Swedish model of industrial training, which provides the best example of this type of coordination between training for "internal" and "external" labour mobility, requires employers to provide firm-based training that reproduces external, institutionally-provided labour market training programs for reemploying dislocated workers (Cavallius 1988, Rollen 1988).This approach to training provision implies "a full multi-entry and multi-exit system" of skill formation, in which the removal of formal limitations on adults undertaking apprenticeships represents a first step toward multi-level entry, while cross-accreditation and prerequisite initiatives linking apprenticeship and further qualifications create a basis for multi-level exit (Mathews 1989: 131). In this connection, the broadening of access to training through statutory rights to paid educational leave, the extension of lines of progression from apprenticeships to full professional qualifications, and requirements for employers to channel excess profits into expenditures on employee education and training represent further steps toward a more complete democratization of occupational training (Mathews, Hall, and Smith 1988).

Workplace Literacy: A Union Opportunity

Currently, business, government, and education circles are worrying over the discrepancies between workers' current skills and the education required by jobs in the new high-tech service economy. For example, a Philadelphia company reports that fewer than 30% of applicants for telephone operator jobs met basic skill requirements, and only 15% scored at an acceptable proficiency level on typing tests. A serious education and training gap obviously exists. There is, however, a conspicuous disparity between the skills employers say they want and the training they provide. In a recent report (Carnevale et al, 1990), the American Society for Training and Development (ASTD) found that too few employers offer training to their employees. ASTD estimates that only one employee in 10 receives any formal paid training, and that these lucky few tend to be from the managerial elite. The great majority of workers--those who actually produce the goods and deliver the services--go without. These findings have motivated the business community to take a new interest in the public school system. Corporate interests are defining educational policy, calling for educational reform, and,getting involved in workplace literacy.

Business involvement in the educational system has taken many forms. Businesses have "adopted" public schools; set up "academies" within schools to provide career-related skills, attitudes, and job-exposure; and begun to dictate the terms of city-wide school reform (Collins, 1989). Such involvement, however, has created a controversy among professional educators about who is best equipped to educate the Canadian and US workforces. Business involvement has tended to promote a view of education explicitly oriented to the values of the marketplace.

The pace with which workplace literacy has stimulated the imagination of the business community raises important questions about the purposes and likely impact of this recent educational movement. Is workplace literacy the latest tool for shaping the North American workforce to meet the demands of capital? Is it an opportunity to develop a more passive and compliant workforce? What kind of education will allow people to enhance job and earning prospects, preserve their existing rights, and simultaneously increase the productivity of N. American businesses and the efficiency of public services? Can the economy's greater need for literate workers be a stimulus for programs that create a politically aware as well as a technically literate workforce? The questions raise important issues for labour unions.

Many unions cooperate in joint workplace literacy programs with business and educational institutions. However, in general, unions have allowed others to decide the structure and content of workplace education programs. Workplace literacy programs generally use a standardized curriculum, and are predominantly oriented towards individuals. In only a relatively few instances have unions taken the leadership to design alternative models that emphasize the needs of the workers rather than training workers to respond to employers' needs.

Union-organized workplace literacy programs can situate individual social and economic mobility within larger community contexts.They can offer very practical benefits for unions and workers as well as employers. One of the most notable features of the new job market is the mobility of labour. As this mobility requires a workforce able to be retrained every few years, the availability of union-based educational programs enhances employment security and increases job advancement opportunities. Additionally, unions need to take action to stem the current erosion in their membership. Minorities and women represent the latest foci of union recruitment drives. Hence, building workplace literacy programs upon cultural affirmation, and linking workplace struggles to community, ethnic, and family needs can aid recruitment. If union-organized workplace literacy programs are also able to link education to tangible, job-related, and personal gains they could become a vehicle for rebuilding union strength.

References

Adler, P. (1988). Automation, skill and the future of capitalism. Berkeley Journal of Sociology

Brandt, G. (1986). Technological change, labour market, and trade union policy. In O. Jacobi, B. Jessop, H. Kastendiek and M. Regini (Eds.), Technological change, rationalisation and industrial relations, pp. 50 - 70. London: Croom Helm.

Burawoy, M. (1985). The politics of production: Factory regimes under capitalism and socialism. London: NLB/Verso.

Carnevale, A.P., Gainer, L.J., & Meltzer, A.S. (1990). Workplace basics: The essential skills employers want. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Cavallius, L. (1988). AMS: The Swedish labour market board. In G. M. Olsen, (Ed.). Industrial change and labour market adjustment in Sweden and Canada. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Collins, S.D. (1989). Workplace literacy: Corporate tool or worker empowerment? Social Policy, Summer 1989, 26-30.

Cornfield, D. B. (1987). Workers, managers, and technological change. New York: Plenum Press.

Drache, D., and H. J. Glasbeek. (1989). The new Fordism in Canada: Capital's offensive, labour's opportunity. Osgoode Hall Law Journal, 27 (3)

Gordon, D. M., R. Edwards, and M. Reich. (1982). Segmented work, divided workers: The historical transformation of labor in the United States. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kunin, R., & Knauf, J. (1992). Structural changes in our labour market. The 80's and 90's or Of doughnuts and layer cakes. Unpublished paper, Employment and Immigration Canada. Regional Economic Servies Branch, BC/YT.

Larsson, S. et al. (1986). Arbetsupplevelse och utbildningssyn hos icke facklärda. Göteborg, Sweden: Göteborg Studies in Educational Sciences.

Leontjev, A. (1983). Virksomhed, bevidsthed, personlighed. Köpenhamn: Progres.

Mahon, R. (1987). From Fordism to ... ?: New technology, labour markets and unions. Economic and Industrial Democracy, 8 (1), 5 - 60.

Mannheim, K. (1936). Ideology and utopia: An introduction to the sociology of knowledge. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Manwaring, T., & Wood, S. (1985). The ghost in the labour process. In D. Knights, H. Wilmott, & D. Collinson.(Eds.). Job redesign: Critical perspectives on the labour process. pp. 171-196. Aldershot: Gower.

Mathews, J. (1989). Tools for change: New technology and the democratisation of work. Sydney: Pluto Press.

Mathews, J., Hall, G., & Smith, H. (1988). Towards flexible skill formation and technological literacy: Challenges facing the educational system. Industrial and Economic Democracy, 9 (4)

Muszynski, L., and Wolfe,D. (1989). New technology and training: Lessons from abroad. Canadian Public Policy -- Analyse de Politiques, XV (3), 245-264.

Myles, J. (1988). The Expanding middle: Some Canadian evidence of the deskilling debate. The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 25 (3), 335-364.

Ogden, M. (1992). Union initiatives to restructure industry in Australia. In P. Adler, (Ed.). Technology and the future of work, pp. 232 - 268. New York: Oxford University Press.

Papadimitriou, Z. (1986). Changing skill requirements and trade union bargaining. In O. Jacobi, B. Jessop, H. Kastendiek & M. Regini (Eds.). Technical change, rationalisation and industrial relations, pp. 35-49. London: Croom Helm.

Rainbird, H. (1988). New technology, training, and union strategies. In R. Hyman and W. Streeck, (Eds.). New technology and industrial relations, pp. 174-185. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Rollen, B. (1988). AMU: Swedish employment training. In G. M. Olsen (Ed.). Industrial change and labour market adjustment in Sweden and Canada. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Shalev, M. (1980). Industrial relations theory and the comparative study of industrial relations and industrial conflict. British Journal of Industrial Relations, 18 (1), 26 - 43.

Weiermair, K. (1984). Apprenticeship training in Canada: A theoretical and empirical analysis. Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada.

Wood, S. (1987). The deskilling debate: New technology and work organization. Acta Sociologica 30 (1), 3 - 24.

TRANSFORMATION OF CONSCIOUSNESS:
By what processes do we reach beyond our present limits?

Irene E. Karpiak

Abstract

The "full-spectrum model of adult development will provide the developmental context within which to examine two processes of change: reconstruction and transformation.

Le moyen "spcetre-globale" du développement de l' adulte fournira le contexte développementale dans lequel deux processus de changement seront examinés: la reconstitution et la transformation.

> Everything which once I thought I had understood crumbled, and I was left with a clean slate..... Everything which the brain has labored for a lifetime to assimilate, categorize and synthesize has to be taken apart and reordered. Moving day for the soul!
>
> Henry Miller's reaction to reading Bergson's Creative Evolution.

Above, Henry Miller reveals how a simple act - reading a book - precipitated a transformation. The relatively new phenomenon of transformation has only recently been recognized as a phenomenon of adult learning; yet, according to Mezirow (1991), it is the central process in adult education and the approach most suited to teaching adults. However, two issues have emerged that have limited its usefulness to the field. First, the term is used too loosely; it describes what are actually two distinct processes. Secondly, transformation is rarely addressed within the context of a developmental model. There is thus a notable absence of any statement regarding the outcome or direction of transformation. This paper addresses both of these issues. It presents a model of human development that provides this much needed developmental context. This model then serves as a basis for distinguishing transformation from reconstruction - that is, deep structure change, from surface structure change.

The "Full-Spectrum" Model of Development

The model that is proposed is an evolutionary "full-spectrum" model of consciousness that I have been adapting for adult education from the transpersonal psychology of Ken Wilber (1981, 1990). It is a model representing the different vantage points or frames of reference from which we view ourselves and the world, and the

---

Continuing Education Division, The University of Manitoba

ways in which these change as we develop. Five levels are contained in the model as I have reconstructed it (Figure 1, below):

a) the Conditioned Level: It includes our instinctual drives and the unconscious, introjected biological and social factors. The self-image at this level is inaccurate or incomplete. The qualities associated with this level are denial and repression.

b) the Rational Level: It comprises our mature ego, our picture of our self, and our various roles. The qualities associated with this level are civility and self-control.

c) the Integrated Level: It is the level of "being," of our total organism - the integration of mind *and* body. The qualities associated with this level are genuineness and authenticity.

d) the Transpersonal Level: Processes occurring go beyond our skin-boundary to an underlying identity with all others. The qualities associated with this level are humility and compassion.

e) Unity or Ground Consciousness: This is the "ultimate environment" (Fowler, 1981), where one experiences the oneness of self with the universe.

A FULL- SPECTRUM MODEL OF CONSCIOUSNESS

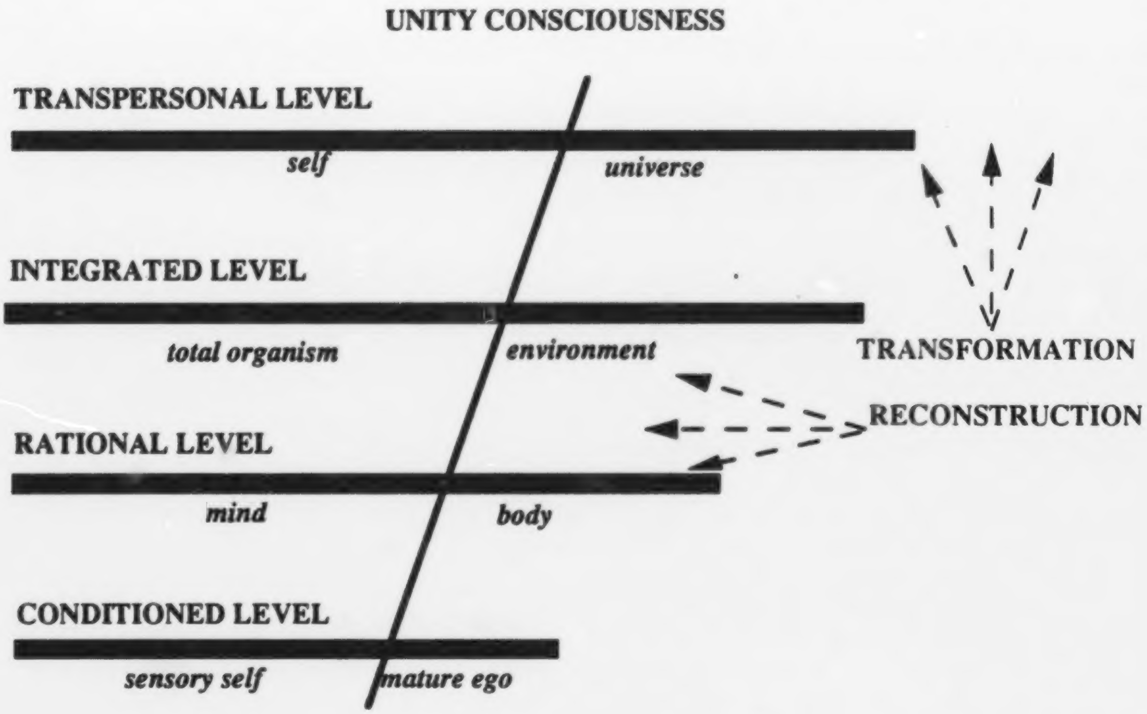

UNITY CONSCIOUSNESS
TRANSPERSONAL LEVEL
self
universe
INTEGRATED LEVEL
total organism
environment
TRANSFORMATION
RECONSTRUCTION
RATIONAL LEVEL
mind
body
CONDITIONED LEVEL
sensory self
mature ego

figure 1 Adapted from K. Wilber (1990)
Note: the diagonal line signifies a boundary

According to Wilber, in the course of development each level of consciousness arises *through* the lower level, preserves and *includes* this lower level, and *transcends* it. At each new level a higher-order, more complex, more inclusive structure emerges. Further, as each new level emerges one continues to have access to the ones below, but only partially to the levels above.

The "full-spectrum" model has the merit of both articulating a goal of human development and charting the developmental steps towards it. The model is consistent with those models of the other development stage theorists, such as Kohlberg, Loevinger, and Perry; however, as does Wilber's model, this one expands on the others' in two important ways: in focusing on consciousness, it is more comprehensive than the single dimensions of moral or intellectual development studied by the earlier stage theorists. Secondly, the model takes development beyond the limits outlined by other stage theorists; this one adds higher dimension of psychological and spiritual development, the implication being that these are potentials in us all.

Transformation and Reconstruction

The second task of the paper is to explore how development occurs through the various levels of the model via the complementary processes of transformation and reconstruction. The clearest and most dramatic demonstration of these complementary processes is in the research done in the physical sciences by such notables as Capra (1983) in physics, Jantsch (1981) in biology, and Prigogine and Stengers (1984) in chemistry. They themselves have distinguished between transformation and self-renewal. However, few have conveyed the mystery of transformation as powerfully as have Prigogine and Stengers (1984). In their studies of chemical systems they showed how a simple system when compelled to undergo extreme stress, has the capacity to spontaneously reorganize itself on a higher level of its own structure. They have even detailed the point at which chaos occurs. There, the system hovers momentarily, appearing to be weak and starved, and suddenly, and most often unpredictably it takes a leap to its own higher order, if it doesn't collapse. This phenomenon the researchers have called "order out of chaos."

In contrast to the above, a system may also transform by responding gradually to new elements introduced to it: first one part responds; and then the others; and finally the components of the "old" structure are "slaved" to the emergent new.

The work of Prigogine and Stengers (1984) is also instructive in defining reconstruction. They described the tendency of systems toward self-maintenance or self-renewal, which I will henceforth refer to as reconstruction. It describes the effort of a system to maintain balance under stress: through small changes, adaptations, and error corrections the system increases in complexity while still maintaining its same structure, i.e., not transforming. In other words, small changes are made in order to forestall big changes. These small changes can, however, if cumulative, lead to transformation.

Curiously, it has taken the findings in science to point out to us the central place of change in our lives. The work of Prigogine and Stengers is most significant to our understanding of transformation and reconstruction because, what we have habitually thought of in psychological terms, they have demonstrated in physical terms. Principally, these scientists have helped us appreciate transformation, not as a mystical notion intended for some select few, but rather as an observable, perpetual, and natural phenomenon that is potential within all systems, and accessible to us all.

In psychology the clearest distinction between transformation and reconstruction is provided by Wilber (1981, p. 71). He identifies two processes - transformation and translation (henceforth to be called reconstruction), and distinguishes between them in the following way:

> Transformation is a type of vertical shift or even mutation in consciousness structures, while translation is a simple horizontal movement within a given structure. Translation is a change in *surface structures*, and transformation is a change in *deep structures* (italics, mine).

The two processes of change may now be defined as follows: Reconstruction is a change *within* the present level of development at which we happen to be; it is a horizontal shift; it represents a "cleaning up" of distortions of that level, a change in meaning schemes, in attitudes, and beliefs, all undertaken to preserve and maintain that level. Transformation is a change *between* our present level and the next; it is a vertical shift. It represents a change in worldview and is no less than a paradigm shift - not only are beliefs changed but also our relationship to beliefs altogether (Hayward, 1987).

Drawing further on Wilber (1981), we can explore how reconstruction and transformation operate to bring about development. Once individuals transform to a particular level of consciousness, that is, the Ego, Integrated, or Transpersonal Level, then they continue to reconstruct both themselves and their world according to the basic structures of that level. In other words, the beliefs, assumption, and values of that level will be the lens through which the individual perceives the world and acts upon it accordingly. Reconstruction at this level will persist for as long as it can, even in the face of new experiences and information that might threaten the maintenance of that level. In short, translation succeeds as long as it can forestall the forces internal or external that are threatening its existence. However, once reconstruction can no longer forestall the forces that threaten the present level's existence, the individual is forced to relinquish that level. Then transformation to the next level is possible.

Development and the Full-Spectrum Model

Returning to the "full-spectrum" model, we can now consider how reconstruction and transformation might operate to bring about development from one level of consciousness to the next. Given the length restraint of this paper, the focus will be on development at the Rational Level. This is the level at which most of our society is operating (Wilber, 1981), on which our institutions exist, and on which most formal decision making takes place. It is the level of the ego, of reason, and of our adaptation to developmental tasks and social roles. Reconstruction at the Rational Level would operate to strengthen the ego, to clarify its boundaries, and to integrate its denied and repressed aspects. New skills and knowledge would enhance the individual's adaptation to professional and social roles.

In a study of twenty professionals (Karpiak, 1990), I observed the processes of both reconstruction and transformation as individuals moved through midlife and the midlife transition. I found that reconstruction occurred through a gradual process. These people described their change as "a coming around," or "a coming full-circle." I noted also in them a consolidation of their sense of personal and professional self as well as greater psychological insight. They expressed their sense of "seeing things in a different way, a greater sense of depth, a sense of maturity" and "having more skills and more confidence." One described it as follows:

> For me the transition at that stage would be my kids becoming adolescents. I don't think, as far as dramatically providing some alteration for a life value or life approach - no. What it has done for me is given me umpteen more pieces of understanding for other parents.

Note, above, that there is an awareness of greater insight, maturity, and deepened understanding of others. However, it stops short of a change in values or approach to life. In relation to our model then, this change represents a fortification of a level, not its relinquishment. Contrast this with the experience of one individual who underwent a transformation as a consequence of the onset of a life-threatening illness. She recalls that event as follows:

> It shakes up all of your assumptions. Your illusions are put before you and you can see right through them. You really have to be pushed against the wall..... My assumptions wouldn't have been shaken up with anything else.

The changes made by this individual constituted a shift in *all* of her assumptions. For her and the other "transformers" the shifts permeated every area of their life - family, work, and sense of self and the world. They observed themselves to have been "unearthed," and "woken up." Now, they saw themselves as "not the person I was before," and "different than I could have imagined." The were aware of "living my values," and "letting go of the need to be in control." One individual observed, "I'm just beginning to be aware, to experience the world in other ways than through my brain. And another summed up: "I feel a new sense of wholeness as a person." The comments of this group of individuals concerning their process of change and their current sense of self suggest that a shift to the Integrated Level occurred. A shift to the Integrated Level from the Rational Level involves an expansion of identity from rational "mind" to include the total organism, i.e., where the mind *and* body are experiences of an integrated, centered self. Further shifts to even higher levels are possible.

Conclusion

The outline of the various levels or stages of development has increased our awareness of what is potential and developmentally possible in us all. It has also given adult educators a rough guide for understanding how lifelong learning takes place, that is, what can happen when experiences from within or without challenge us to change. We can reconstruct ourselves at our present level or, alternatively, we can transform to the next. And finally, this paper makes obvious the need for further research to clarify the levels of the model for adult education and to look further into educational processes in light of reconstruction and transformation.

References

Capra, F. (1983). *The turning point*. New York: Bantam Books.

Fowler, J. W. (1981). *Stages of faith*. New York: Harper & Row.

Jantsch, E. (1981). Unifying Principles of Evolution. In E. Jantsch, (Ed.),*The evolutionary vision*. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, Inc.

Hayward, J. W. (1987). *Shifting worlds, changing minds*. Boston: Shambhala.

Karpiak, I. (1990). *Social workers at midlife: An interpretive study of their patterns of developmental change with implications for continuing social work education*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Prigogine, I. & Stengers, I. (1984). *Order out of chaos: Man's new dialogue with nature*. New York: Bantam Books.

Wilber, K. (1981). *Up from eden: A transpersonal view of human evolution*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Wilber, K. (1990). *Eye to eye: The quest for the new paradigm*. Boston: Shambhala.

IS IT REALISTIC TO EXPECT AN ADULT EDUCATOR TO SEEK COLLABORATION AMONG A GROUP HOLDING DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES?

Margot Knox, Dalhousie University.

Sommaire

De quelles façons un éducateur pour adultes orchestre le processus d'évaluation d'un programme quand l'équipe est tellement diversifiée? Cet article décrit quelques facteurs et quelques activitiées qui pourraient inciter une atmosphère cordiale et stimulante pout les participants.

Abstract

How might an adult educator facilitate a collaborative program evaluation process when the collaborators are drawn from scientific and interpretative traditions? This paper describes factors and activities which might promote an open, responsive environment for all participants.

Introduction

North American Industries have adopted a more customer oriented approach to doing business. Periodicals and newspapers report on "change", empowerment of employees and new attitudes in the manager/employee role. This effect has been moving into institutions such as hospitals and universities. In the institution used as example in this paper the Continuous Quality Improvement (CQI) initiative has partly taken the form of responsibility for problem solving passing to teams. Members are assembled as cross functional groups and represent various departments or services. Formerly, "experts" were dispatched to locate causes of problems.

Also, the same publicly funded institutions are becoming more aware of the need to evaluate their programs because of increasing demands for accountability of social programs. Evaluation produces a comprehensive answer to questions raised by governing boards and senior management. It also presents the opportunity for program stakeholders to formally document the strengths and weaknesses of a program. Formal evaluation is therefore a logical part of the CQI culture.

The need has arisen for workplace based learning to develop teams which will collaborate in the generation of evaluation models which are suitable for their institutions. The outcome of the practice of program evaluation by such a team will influence institutional decision making.

If the institution in question is a university or hospital the probable diversity of philosophical perspectives of team members becomes obvious. The purpose of the following discussion is to examine a process of collaborative inquiry and the work of adult educators in workplace settings. Educators are required to collaborate, in this instance, with professionals working from research traditions shaped by their initial training and subsequent experiences in personal interactions with clients (patients).

Workplace Learning

The evaluation process described here differs from the normal conventions of workplace learning because the task-in-hand will not be found in the job description of any team member. It falls in the category of "other tasks as devised by administration"! However it parallels the examples of the modern workplace as described by Welton (1991). "The professional (that is, the adult educator) has become the resource for facilitating worker empowerment". The workers are the scientists and therapists and other institutional staff forming the team chosen to perform the evaluation. If recommendations for change are proposed they must be made in such a way that they will be applied to the program; team members then have the opportunity to see real, but not token, consequences of empowerment.

The requirement to work as a team is, at first sight, a norm of any institution. However, in reality, decision making is often made by one person only and others must follow. The "medical model" implies that physicians order, nurses and therapists devise care plans to implement the orders and clients follow. In research laboratories, scientists generate ideas and technicians perform the details of the experiments. The notion of collaboration in work is not universally practiced. This is just one reason why great challenges confront adult educators in the workplace.

Team Members

Consider the scenario of someone, perhaps yourself or a relative who has fallen on the ski slopes or while mountain walking. He/she has damaged a knee. You, or your relative will become a client of the trauma program at the local hospital. Surgery is prescribed to restore the knee to its former physical state. Later, therapists must be visited so that exercises which will restore all of the movement expected of a knee can be learned.

The scientists
The client is fortunate because science and medical scientists, pharmacologists and therapists have been working for many years to prepare for just this event. One component of scientific output relevant to the program is portrayed here.

During surgery the surgeon requires a relaxed, immobile client. Muscle relaxants have been known for centuries - our ancestors used curare in blow pipes to hunt animals! However newer agents with predictable action and few side effects were needed for humans. A series of experiments began in the 1950s and inevitably alternative and "better" compounds with different molecules were identified, tested and put into use. At the end of surgery the relaxant is "reversed" by the use of other compounds which displace the relaxant to restore normal nerve/muscle functioning.

To obtain a perspective on the scientific activities which led to the development of the trauma program we might appeal to the philosophers of science. They have studied the work and writings of scientists for centuries. Unfortunately there is no clear universal model available to represent progress. More important, it must be acknowledged that the majority of the scientists themselves are unaware of the descriptors attached to their work.

Scientists are rarely called to argue if a molecule is a real entity, as real as, for example, the patella bone in the knee. However, they understand the cycle of speculation, the generation of better theory which is tested by new experiments and the chance that instances of falsification, which require explanation, will occur in their results. They do not worry whether theory comes before experiment and observation or vice versa. Nor do they worry whether their results represent "truth". They do accept that the results represent the best approximation to truth which is available at that point in time and that they allow explanations of the phenomena under study. Scientists believe that they are objective in their interpretation of research findings, in their decision making and in the mapping of progress in their fields of study.

The therapists

Let us assume that surgery with its mysteries is past and that the knee (and the client) are ready to begin the process to restore it to its former state of mobility. The services of therapists are required.

Some knowledge, such as the effects of drugs and treatment protocols which therapists apply in their work is derived from science. A large part is not, but is derived from practice and experiences of interaction with patients. Consider contrasts made by Yvonna Lincoln (1991) in her comparison of the "helping process model" with the "medical model". In the former the focus is on the whole person and not just on the knee which is injured. Helping professionals listen and devise joint therapist-client assessments of treatments and solutions whereas other professionals simply prescribe. Therapists function as social scientists, because they focus holistically on the person, at all times, rather than on a single object at any point in time.

The Problem

In the experience of this writer the problem to be expected with team members from a diversity of research backgrounds is that scientists may refuse to tolerate the use of qualitative methods. This has extended even to the inclusion of interview findings, particularly if the number of program clients responding was small relative to the population. On the other hand, while most therapists choose methods based on their epistemological beliefs, they also impart concern for the practicalities of time and costs. More important, they will seek verification through triangulation if data sources are scarce and constantly question findings in a fair minded manner.

There is some agreement among philosophers that there are three bodies or views of Social Science - namely, the naturalistic, the interpretative and the critical (Braybrooke, 1987). The first is the set of understandings just given for scientists carried over into social science. The interpretative, of course, represents the work of Lincoln. If we apply Kuhn's terminology, the scientists are practicing "normal science" and the therapists are practicing "new normal science". On the other hand few therapists will be aware of moving through a personal "revolution". Instead, their training and the philosophy of care devised by the institution and their departments of work will have assisted them in development of a personal paradigm. I prefer to refer to this as a shared-set-of-values (Hacking 1983). By definition, the therapists and the scientists each share a common set of methods, standards and basic assumptions in their attitudes to research, information gathering and adoption of new technologies and/or research to their work practices. Of course, methods and assumptions and other responses will not be the same for each group of professionals!

The Facilitator/Adult Educator

Adult educators with the team will also have their own sets-of-values, but will they recognize team members who share them? They can be expected to have come from a science or humanities based discipline as workplace educators often move into staff development with little additional training. They will therefore have personal 'baggage' from education and from work experiences.

There is extensive writing around the methodologies derived from shared sets-of-values, particularly targeted to the choices between quantitative and qualitative methods. Howe (1988) makes a case for pragmatism and therefore, a pragmatic educator. This is a valid argument, and the educator may possess a pragmatic value system, but when choices are presented the educator's own internalised instincts will prevail. Firestone (1987) and Howe put forward an argument for autonomy - the view that "the practice of research floats free of epistemological considerations" and that one can use "what works" in the choice of methods. This is too simplistic and is not appropriate for the educator as it implies loss of sensitivity to the participants, does not accommodate their needs, and worst, will likely allow the dominant team members to overrun discussions.

The adult educators must reflect on and inform team participants of their personal sets-of-values, as they see them.

Some will share these, others will not. The educators must admit that, with team members, each approaches the evaluation issues "speaking different languages". Tensions which are present are best recognized early and should be clarified with recognition that there is not one universal truth. Progress will be achieved if the educators have demonstrated experiences in evaluation and real problem solving processes from which case studies can be developed. Dialogue and discussion of cases will serve dual purposes of increasing the technical knowledge of the team as well as encouraging communication. Also, but most important in this context, the educators can take this opportunity to introduce applications of mixtures of methodologies.

Once it is accepted that different research traditions exist and that they should be acknowledged and nurtured the educators must become facilitators - practicing from a model such as that described by Braxton-Brown and Keenan (1990). They must promote respectful relationships and collaboration in order to produce a report which all team members will sign. Emphasis must be placed on the fact that they are not experts and that, with the team, they are working together for the same purpose - that is, the evaluation of the trauma program.

Possible Solutions

Because experience has shown that those working from an interpretative view - the therapists - are flexible in their attitude towards methodology the educators must initially look to them for assistance. For example, in a recent evaluation of a Pastoral Care Program the available objective measurement scales of patient well-being proved to be invalid in acute, short term care. They had been designed for long term care settings and could not be adapted. Objective measures failed and were not available to be tracked statistically as time series, as planned. Instead, therapists and other care giving staff might have escorted scientists to meet patients and talk with them to discover activities of the program. Working in small groups they could begin to understand the reasons for incorporation of such activities. They could also observe and discuss those patient outcomes which lead to valid explanations of program effects.

Scientific methodology encourages scientists to move linearly through theory and experiment, leading to more theory and sometimes unexpected outcomes which require revision of theory. This is in itself a critical methodology, achieved through making choices, questioning. When functioning as researchers the scientists rarely act alone but will reflect and discuss choices with peers so they are socialized to this norm of investigation.

The evaluation of a program is rarely an exact exercise with clear, certain outcomes and findings. It is, more likely, a teasing of causes and effects mixed with opinions, statistics and even model building. If the facilitators can promote dialogue among team members and maintain focus on the issues then, because of the nature of the task, rational opinions will be formed.

Conclusions

Returning to the title of this paper - I believe that it is realistic, that is, it is not an illusion, to hope that collaboration can be sought among persons holding diverse perspectives. The essential condition for success is that participants must be willing, together, to explore their world and that of program clients.

REFERENCES

1. Braybrooke D. (1987) *Philosophy of Social Science*. Englewood Cliffs. N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

2. Braxton-Brown G. & Keenan T.P. (1990) The Four Rs of Andragogy in Continuing Education Practice. *Can. J. of University Continuing Education* vol XVI #1.

2. Firestone W. (1987) Meaning in Method: The Rhetoric of Quantitative and Qualitative Research. *Educational Researcher*. 16(7).

3. Hacking I. (1983) *Representing and Intervening*. Cambridge U. Press.

4. Howe K.R. (1988) Against the Quantitative-Qualitative Incompatibility Thesis or Old Dogmas Die Hard. *Educational Researcher* 17(8).

5. Lincoln Y. (1991) Unpublished paper presented to the Atlantic Rehabilitation Research Symposium. Halifax NS.

6. Welton M. (1991) *Toward Development Work: The Workplace as a Learning Environment*. Deakin University.

TITRE : Différences et réciprocité dans la relation éducative.

Jean-Marie LABELLE

Université Louis Pasteur. Sciences de l'éducation.
STRASBOURG (France)

RESUME : Le personnalisme de Maurice Nédoncelle projette un éclairage décisif sur la réciprocité des consciences. Cette référence nous amène à concevoir les différences individuelles comme le fondement de la réciprocité éducative. Il en résulte des implications pédagogiques et des enjeux pour l'éducation des adultes.

ABSTRACT : Maurice Nedoncelle's "personalism" sheds fundamentally light on the reciprocity of consciousnesses. This reference leads us to consider the individual differences as the foundation of the educational reciprocity. Implications and stakes for adult education result from it.

Le rapport entre les différences individuelles et la réciprocité dans la relation éducative est une question philosophique avant d'être pédagogique. Dans un premier temps, en appliquant la méthodologie de l'analyse du discours à quelques témoignages de pratiques andragogiques, de la fin du 19è siècle à nos jours, nous mettrons en évidence le statut des différences selon les diverses conceptions de la réciprocité. Ensuite, pour étayer notre réflexion, nous nous attacherons à la philosophie de Maurice Nédoncelle (1905-1976), qui nous inspire la voie à emprunter pour penser la relation entre les deux concepts : exclusion, tolérance, ou inclusion ?

La réciprocité éducatrice

La métaphysique personnaliste de Nédoncelle constitue, à mon sens, le fondement décisif de la réciprocité en éducation et dans l'apprentissage ou la didactique.

En tant que sujets personnels, l'apprenant et l'enseignant sont placés en corrélation l'un avec l'autre, en deçà, pour ainsi dire, de ce qu'ils peuvent entreprendre ensemble. Il en est de même des apprenants entre eux dans le "nous" du groupe d'apprentissage qu'ils composent. Ainsi, l'enseignant ne serait pas là pour enseigner si l'apprenant n'était pas là pour apprendre. La conscience enseignante est corrélative de la conscience apprenante, et inversement Ces consciences, en tant que personnelles, mais aussi dans ce qui les particularisent respectivement comme apprenante et enseignante, ne sont pas l'une sans l'autre. En conséquence, parce qu'elle est originaire et constituante, la relation entre la conscience apprenante et la conscience enseignante est par elle-même, au sens fort, *éducatrice*, plutôt qu'éducative. En effet, le suffixe "if(ive)", correspond à un substantif en "-ion", tandis que le suffixe "ateur (atrice)" marque une action productive : il désigne donc ici la réciprocité comme "agent" d'éducation. La réciprocité des consciences fonde la réciprocité éducatrice. Elle fait de la relation le creuset ou le berceau de l'éducation. En d'autres termes, loin d'être un épiphénomène accessoire de l'éducation, la relation radicalement réciproque en est son fondement constitutif. C'est la relation réciproque qui éduque.

Cette métaphysique de la relation en éducation permet d'expliquer que la seule présence des partenaires l'un à l'autre influence déjà l'éducation elle-même. Une communication, singulièrement non-verbale, s'établit entre les deux: elle a pour enjeu la manière dont chacun apprendra et enseignera. Ni l'un, ni l'autre, ne peut échapper à cette communication indicible des consciences qui marquera leur activité. En ce rapport silencieux s'enracine la réciprocité active de l'apprentissage, ou réciprocité didactique. Mais, apprendre l'un de l'autre, qu'est-ce à dire?

Deux voies s'ouvrent à la réflexion pour apporter des éléments de réponse à cette question. La première consiste à envisager la réciprocité didactique comme s'exerçant par *réversibilité* ou interchangeabilité des rôles. La seconde, pour moi fondamentale, situe cette réciprocité dans la *coopération simultanée et asymétrique des rôles différenciés d'apprenant et d'enseignant*.

Les quelques mentions éparses de la réciprocité dans la littérature pédagogique s'inscrivent dans la perspective de l'interchangeabilité des fonctions et des rôles et supposent en arrière-fond une problématique de l'*égalité* selon laquelle apprenant et enseignant se rendraient mutuellement "la pareille". Il est vrai que chacun des partenaires peut apprendre de l'autre des savoirs qu'il ignorait jusqu'à leur rencontre. Ainsi, dans un groupe d'adultes, il arrive fréquemment que des apprenants, du fait de leur expérience et de leur spécialisation professionnelle, soient porteurs de connaissances que le formateur ne possède pas. L'enseignant apprendra donc de l'apprenant. Les différences affectent l'apprentissage d'un enrichissement *cumulatif*, par rapport à son objet même. Il s'agit d'une *tolérance active*.

Ce phénomène se comprend par le fait que, de manière successive et additionnelle, les fonctions *s'inversent*. L'enseignant devient apprenant, tandis que l'apprenant se retrouve en position d'enseignant. Il s'est produit un échange de statuts, c'est-à-dire de positionnement de l'un et de l'autre par rapport au savoir. L'explication de l'apprentissage renvoie moins alors à la réciprocité éducatrice et didactique qu'au problème général de l'influence active et unilatérale que *Je* peut avoir sur *Tu*. En pédagogie ou en andragogie, il suffira de prévoir une stratégie autorisant et faisant fonctionner cette réversibilité statutaire, notamment par la circulation de la parole et la mise en commun des savoirs. Il en est de même de l'apprentissage entre pairs, c'est-à-dire des apprenants entre eux. Ils changent à tour de rôle de place vis-à-vis des autres, tout en croyant garder le même statut, parce que, sur tel objet d'étude, les uns sont plus experts ou plus compétents que d'autres. N'est-ce pas pour cette raison d'ailleurs que chacun peut apprendre quotidiennement de quiconque est plus instruit que lui?

Pour intéressante qu'elle soit, car riche en conséquences stratégiques accordant toute leur place aux interactions, cette explication est à mes yeux insuffisante car elle opère subrepticement un déplacement conceptuel de la réciprocité: elle n'est plus de soi éducatrice, mais une résultante de l'action de l'un sur l'autre. Ce qu'il faut éclairer et comprendre c'est que sans changer de statut ni de rôle et sans se confondre, c'est-à-dire *en gardant leurs différences*, les uns apprennent des autres en enseignant les uns aux autres. Pour cela, il est nécessaire de revenir à la philosophie personnaliste et d'en tirer rigoureusement les implications qui s'imposent au plan pédagogique. Telle est la seconde voie sur laquelle je m'avance.

Au plan originaire, *Je* et *Tu* ne sont pas réversibles. Si Je est à la fois Je et Tu, c'est Amphitryon et Sosie, mais Je n'est plus un sujet singulier. En tant que personnes autonomes, l'apprenant et l'enseignant ne sont pas interchangeables. Ils constituent les deux pôles d'une relation qui à la fois les unit et les distingue. Dans ce mouvement originaire, ils se promeuvent mutuellement dans leur singularité. Il en est de même au plan de la réciprocité active. C'est dire que si l'enseignant enseigne à l'apprenant à apprendre, l'apprenant en retour apprend à l'enseignant à enseigner. Du fait de la réciprocité éducatrice, l'enseignant apprend d'enseigner, comme l'on dit mourir d'aimer. C'est dans un seul et même acte, et non plus par étapes successives, que le mouvement fait aller-retour, puisqu'il n'est autre qu' alternatif. Il en est de même de la réciprocité entre apprenants lorsque, par suite d'un changement de rôles, les uns se trouvent effectivement en situation d'enseignant vis-à-vis des autres. Ainsi est-ce bien dans la coopération simultanée et asymétrique des rôles différenciés qu'il y a apprentissage réciproque.Il reste à souligner que cette réciprocité réside dans le dialogue, fait d'écoute et de prise de parole.

Dans le dialogue didactique, l'enseignant et l'apprenant ne sont pas à égalité face au savoir, mais dans un rapport de communauté. S'ils visent effectivement le même savoir en un même acte, leurs points de départ sont différents, leurs finalités différentes, leurs modes d'approche différents. Leurs différences permettent seules qu'il y ait mouvement de l'un à l'autre et de l'autre à l'un. Le mouvement érige les différences en complémentarité. Autrement dit, la réciprocité *inclut* radicalement les différences puisqu'elle n'existerait pas sans elles. C'est ainsi que les partenaires constituent une dyade dans la visée du savoir.

En effet, l'approche de l'un est de transmettre, dans une logique expositive, l'approche de l'autre d'appréhender, dans une logique constructive; la finalité de l'un est de faire partager, dans une logique dispensatrice, celle de l'autre d'avoir accès, dans une logique de découverte; enfin, l'un est en position avancée, ce qui induit une logique de guidance, l'autre en position éloignée, ce qui fait sourdre en lui une logique de "tension-vers". Ces différences sont telles que sans dialogue le cheminement de l'un et de l'autre s'accomplirait sur des voies parallèles, sans efficacité, et en creusant progressivement l'écart qui les sépare. Le dialogue au contraire articulera l'exposition sur la construction, qui se verra confirmée en vérité, le partage sur l'accessibilité pour coïncider avec la découverte, la guidance sur la tension pour la renforcer. Ce dialogue est articulation même de l'un à l'autre et inversement. Il est réciprocité éducatrice dans un unique mouvement bilatéral qui situe les deux pôles dans un rapport d'*inclusion*. C'est à cette profondeur que l'apprenant s'approprie le savoir et que l'enseignant apprend en retour. Mais qu'apprend celui qui enseigne ?

Il apprend d'enseigner. Qu'est-ce que cela signifie? Dans l'écoute de l'apprenant, il apprend la manière dont l'apprenant se positionne dans son rapport de connivence avec le savoir. De là, il apprend à inventer une parole, jusque-là inédite, qui atteindra l'apprenant au bon moment, au bon endroit, de la manière qui conviendra à son processus d'appropriation. Ce retour sur investissement est fondamental pour l'apprenant; il représente un bénéfice capital pour l'enseignant. Car le questionnement de l'apprenant n'est pas vide de sens, il est au contraire riche de perceptions et d'expressions pertinentes des savoirs, jusque-là elles aussi inédites, qui forcent l'enseignant à s'étonner, à se questionner lui-même, à créer lui-même de nouvelles formulations du savoir et à discerner des savoirs nouveaux, qui ne figuraient pas dans le texte qu'il avait préparé pour la transmission de son propre savoir.

Mais ce retour n'est possible et enrichissant que si l'enseignant élimine en lui-même, dans son être personnel, toute suffisance, et que sa capacité à se remettre en question, y compris dans ce qu'il croyait savoir, le rend lui-même éducable. Dans ce dialogue unique les deux partenaires deviennent réciproquement les auteurs contemporains de leurs apprentissages *différenciés*, à la condition que chacun aille jusqu'au bout de son rôle pour que l'autre puisse tenir le sien également jusqu'au bout et toujours plus loin. Tel est l'enjeu de leur relation asymétrique: ils s'y acquittent mutuellement d'une dette symbolique.

Valeurs et attitudes

La réciprocité éducatrice et didactique n'est ainsi qu'une implication de la réciprocité des consciences. Cette thèse que je défends est porteuse de signification et de conséquences dans la manière de concevoir et d'effectuer l'éducation des adultes, mais aussi celle des jeunes, car elle renvoie radicalement à la *personne* et aux *valeurs* qui lui sont intrinsèquement attachées. Dès lors, prendre en compte la réciprocité c'est, pour l'éducateur d'adultes, un état d'esprit, une conversion intérieure de sa conscience aux valeurs qui définissent la Personne. Ainsi, cette prise en compte se situe fondamentalement au niveau des attitudes originaires, seules capables d'engendrer les comportements adaptés à leur traduction cohérente dans les interventions actives. Pour ce faire, paroles et gestes de l'éducateur emprunteront toutes les ressources stratégiques de la pédagogie correspondant à ces valeurs. Le non-respect originaire et actif des valeurs de la réciprocité signerait la négation destructrice de la Personne comme telle : en dépit des discours généreux, il réduirait à néant toute prétention éducative par l'*exclusion concrète* des différences.

L'éducateur d'adultes est donc amené à s'interroger en permanence sur son aptitude à :

- regarder l'apprenant, quel qu'il soit, comme quelqu'un d'unique et d'important, car l'éducation suppose la confiance;
- faire en sorte que l'apprenant soit auteur de son apprentissage, car il n'est pas d'éducation sans responsabilité:
- respecter les apprenants comme des partenaires libres et autonomes, car la reconnaissance des libertés fonde leur développement;

- penser que l'éducation est affaire de communication interpersonnelle, car la relation fait l'éducation;
- favoriser l'expression personnelle des apprenants, car la création est condition d'éducation;
- négocier avec les apprenants et l'institution les objectifs de formation ainsi que les règles de fonctionnement et d'évaluation, car l'éducation résulte d'un contrat;
- considérer qu'il apprend d'enseigner, car l'éducabilité est promesse de changement;
- admettre que la confrontation des apprenants entre eux et avec lui facilite l'apprentissage et l'enseignement, car l'approche éducative de la vérité est conflictuelle;
- s'engager à accompagner les apprenants dans leur apprentissage en tenant compte des différences individuelles, car le jeu des différences est éducateur;
- reconnaître que les apprenants sont les uns pour les autres et pour lui source d'enrichissement, car la complémentarité est facteur de promotion mutuelle;
- accepter ce que disent les apprenants sans les juger, car la compréhension dynamise l'autonomie;
- encourager l'entraide mutuelle, car la solidarité est l'espace de l' éducation;
- se remettre en question à partir des questions des apprenants, car la déstabilisation est source d'invention;
- écouter d'abord, parler ensuite, car l'ouverture à l'altérité est l'enjeu de l'éducation;
- concevoir que le plaisir d'apprendre et le plaisir d'enseigner vont de pair, car la joie est la marque de l'éducation;
- dire «je ne sais pas» ou «je me suis trompé», car l'éducation suppose radicalement l'authenticité et l'honnêteté.

Cette liste de valeurs et de questionnements est loin d'être exhaustive. Elle entend mentionner nombre de valeurs, parmi les plus déterminantes, qu'implique radicalement la réciprocité éducatrice. Si l'éducateur d'adultes est profondément disposé à adopter ces principes fondateurs de l'activité corrélatrice d'apprentissage et d'enseignement, il n'est pas loin d'intégrer la réciprocité comme valeur première et d'accueillir les différences. Il lui reste à mettre ses actes en conformité avec ses intentions dans des démarches didactiques cohérentes. N'est-ce pas là l'horizon de la réciprocité éducatrice, jamais atteint car poursuivi sans cesse ?

WORKING ACROSS OUR DIFFERENCES
IN
COMMUNITY BASED LITERACY EDUCATION

Shirley Emma Leclair
Ottawa Board of Education

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a conceptual framework for understanding Adult Basic Education in a practice that has the focus of community outreach, family literacy, and workplace education programs. The model within this program design incorporates the dual responsibility of people helping themselves to learn, and people helping others to learn in combined programs of service. The program of learning takes into account the adult's abilities, needs, interests, racial and ethnocultural backgrounds. The model integrates a learner-centred approach within individual or small group literacy. Learning Outcomes provide a basis for evaluating adult student achievement through portfolio. The models presented may have implications for future trends within transitional education.

Introduction

The Ottawa Board of Education provides a practice of Adult Basic Education with the aim that each student has the opportunity to develop his / her potential both as an individual and within society (ABE Handbook, 1992). This paper presents an investigation of inter-city, community-based literacy networks with the design that includes planning, operating, and conducting the program (Houle, 1973; 1980). In the initial stages of program design an educational activity is identified by the community. This activity is refined by the school board and the partners taking into consideration adult student needs.

Programs are delivered at various times of day and evening in apartment buildings, group homes, community centres, religious institutions, community schools, psychiatric rehabilitation centres, work places and a storefront site. Lifelong learning is supported by providing services that respond to the needs of the community. The objectives of the activity of literacy and numeracy education fall within several categories of programs. This paper will discuss the categories of Community Programs, Family Literacy, and Workplace Education.

In the planning of the program the model includes themes within the program of study. The development of a theme or meaning involves the process of making connections between the task on hand within the core subjects of language and mathematics. The adult educator also takes into consideration the students world of experience, and the world outside. Creativity, sensitivity, and flexibility is taken into account within the ethnocultural reality of customs, values, and beliefs of the individual and the group of students within the community of learners. Observation, informal tests, conferencing, and portfolio are strategies that the instructor uses for evaluation.

Community Programs

Community Programs has the practice of adult education in action. The function of Community Programs is to cultivate the intellect of the learner, provide an opportunity for personal and social improvement and transformation within the context of partnership organizational effectiveness (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982; Jarvis, 1985). The process of learning in the settings of a positive learning environment is instructor / student directed, and the learners have something to say about the design or the content of the learning experience. The factors that shape the context for learning are: people, structure, and culture (Merriam & Caffarella, 1991). Community Programs provide the vehicle of education that meets the needs of the people, structure, and culture.

Adult students are provided with an opportunity for learning that includes various scheduling, convenient locations, interesting and relevant course material, and extended time requirements. An attempt is made to give the students the confidence to acquire knowledge and skills that they expect within adult education. The ideas of a positive sense of self and a concern for others are encouraged in the further understanding of these values. Adults are encouraged to study their cultural heritage and learn about the contributions of other people from diverse ethnocultural groups. Briscoe and Ross (1989) state that "not only is America greying, the skin colour of America is also changing". The Canadian population of visible minorities is evident within adult education and is referred to by the above authors as the "browning of America".

The Canadian mosaic displays a population of cultural and ethnic diversity that impacts on Adult Basic Education. Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990) state that adult educators are becoming aware of the instructional implications of the blending of cultures, and at the same time the holding onto the traditions found within the groups. Adult educators are sensitive to the changing demographic trends and they are addressing the needs of special groups within the learning environment. The needs of special groups may include: learning English as a second language; learning about functioning as an individual within a group that makes up the Canadian mosaic; preparation for the job market; preparation for the information society in job related training programs.

Family Literacy Programs

Family Literacy is a program that has a community-based design. The program provides support, education, and advocacy in an intergenerational effort to break the cycle of illiteracy and poverty. Adult learners are encouraged to improve their literacy skills and learn the significance of reading to their children in a group and at home. Adult learners begin with the knowledge and experience that they have. This experience is brought to the program that is structured to meet different needs and goals. Group reading programs are coupled with adult upgrading programs that have an on-site childcare program. Those adults and children meet in the childcare room for a daily circle reading.

The Ottawa Board of Education's Continuing Education Centre is an inter-city Adult Basic Education (ABE), English as a Second Language, and adult high school facility. The Children's Centre infant and preschool childcare program works with the parents who attend ABE upgrading classes at the facility. The parents and children meet for a daily fifteen minute "Read to Me" session at the end of each morning class. The parents are mostly women and most of them are on social assistance. A similar program exists at Foster Farm Community Centre which is a low-income housing development. Foster Farm also has a homework program four nights a week for children between the ages of five to eighteen.

The Family Literacy Program is similar to other sociological perspectives that emphasize conflict theory (Courtney, 1984; Rubenson, 1989). Peters and Jarvis (1991) state that the theoretical approach in conflict theory is an attempt by adult educators for the illiterate, underprivileged, and oppressed learners to create their own knowledge collectively, direct their own learning, and be self-reliant (Tandon, 1981; Freire, 1970; Nyerere, 1968; Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990). Freire's (1970) theory of education stresses the opportunity for learners to become aware of their life-shaping, socio-cultural reality. His theory is the basis for social change that sites the realization of the capacity of the learner to transform this reality.

Workplace Education Programs

Workplace Education Programs is a service that is provided to businesses in Ottawa-Carleton. The program offers a wide range of adult upgrading programs for employees in the workplace. The Workplace Education Model includes general publicity and a presentation package that is given to the Management of the company. The company needs are identified and recommendations are made. In the implementation process several phases are identified such as program negotiation, recruitment of students, and implementation of the program. Program evaluation and reports are given to the company. In this process on-going assessment of the program is given to supervisors, management, and union. Care is given to maintain that records of student progress are kept in confidence (Macnaughton, Pearson & Storr, 1991).

Concluding Comments

The conceptual framework described above presents an investigation of inter-city Adult Basic Education Programs. Different models are presented which include Community Programs, Family Literacy Programs and Workplace Literacy Programs. Working across our differences in community based literacy education begins with networking and interaction of the key players in the actual planning, operating, and conducting the programs. Focusing on these three programs allows the reader to come to his / her own decision about the people, structure, and culture found within the literacy and numeracy classroom environment. Focusing on the people, structure, and culture raises several questions. For example, what is the impact on adult continuing education with the blending or holding onto traditions within the groups? What is the impact of changing demographic trends upon the adult educator? How does cultural and ethnic diversity affect the adult students involved?

The framework for the programs outlined in this paper provide a very basic understanding of how an inter-city school board attempts to meet the needs of the adult learner within several communities. The process of a learner-centred approach with learning outcomes, small group literacy, longer time periods, and evaluation through the use of conferencing and portfolio may have implication for future trends within transitional education.

References

ABE Handbook (1992), Ottawa Board of Education, Continuing Education.

Bell, B., Gaventa, J.P., and Peters, J.M. (eds.). We Make the Road by Walking: Conversations on Education and Social Change. Philadelphia: Temple University.

Courtney, S., (1984). Visible Learning: Adult Education and the Question of Participation. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Leadership and Educational Policy Studies Department, Noarthern Illinois University.

Briscoe, D.B., and Ross, J.M. (1989). Racial and Ethnic Minorities and Adult Education. In S.B. Merriam and P.M. Cunningham (eds.), Handbood of Adult and Continuing Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: Seabury Press.

Darkenwald, G.G., and Merriam, S.B. Adult Education: Foundations of Practice. New York: Harper & Row.

Houle, C.O. (1972). The Design of Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Houle, C.O. (1980). Continuing Learning in the Professions. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Macnaughton, M., Pearson, T., Storr, B. (1991). OBE in the Workplace: Organizational Needs Assessment, Ottawa Board of Education.

Merriam, S.B., and Caffarella, R.S. (1991). Learning in Adulthood. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Nyerere, J.K. Education for Self-Reliance. In J.K. Nyerere, Ujamma: Essays on Socialism. London: Oxford University.

Peters, J.M., and Jarvis, P. (1991). Adult Education: Evolution and Achievements in a Developing Field of Study. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

WOMEN'S LEARNING IN THREE CONTEXTS

Dorothy MacKeracher, Professor, Faculty of Education, UNB
Margaret Wall, Program Coordinator,
Department of Extension and Summer Session, UNB
Kim Doucet, Research Assistant, Faculty of Education, UNB

This symposium will summarize research conducted in relation to women's learning in three contexts: within formal, credit programs leading to a Master's degree; through informal, self-directed learning done on the job; and within a formal, not-for-credit program focusing on the development of management skills.

Women's Learning in Formal Educational Programs

The study which informed this section identified and described women's significant learning experiences while completing a Master's thesis at the University of New Brunswick (Wall, 1992). The major finding of this study was that women place themselves at the centre of a framework through which they experience their learning and connect themselves to their learning through three inter-related concerns: relevance, recognition and relationships. This section will discuss these three concerns and then suggest approaches to planning and facilitating women's learning in formal educational programs.

An important aspect of the women's learning was making sense of the graduate experience by finding meanings in course and thesis activities which were relevant to self. Such relevance allowed the woman to resolve conflicts between her expectations and the realities of the graduate experience, pursue a personally meaningful thesis topic, find ways to participate in graduate activities on her own terms, and learn to ask and explore her own questions. The women in the study described learning that was not relevant as hollow exercises to be completed for credit but soon forgotten. Relevance was associated with finding one's own meaning first and then moving to the meanings proposed by others.

Significant learning also occurred when self was recognized or affirmed through dialogue with and feedback from instructors, as, for example, when they were listened to as they thought out loud, and were encouraged to focus on their own problems. From such experiences, the women learned that they were capable of solving problems, producing valued thoughts, and reasoning effectively. Significant learning also occurred when the women were able to make sense of themselves through relationships with others, most particularly with faculty members. These relationships assisted the woman to develop a sense of place within her program of study, a sense of self within her field of practice, and a sense of competence as both learner and knower. When relevance, recognition, and relationships were absent, the woman's program might be completed but the accompanying learning was not viewed as significant and the woman experienced feelings of alienation and disconnection. When all three were present, the associated program was completed, the learning was reported as significant and the woman experienced an integration of self and program.

Learning experiences that fail to meet our expectations and that lack meaning and relevance can call into question deeply held values and our very sense of self (Mezirow, 1991). Starting with one's self and making the learning relevant to oneself is one aspect of connected knowing (Belenky et al., 1986). The women described not a dichotomous choice between what is offered by academic authorities on the one hand or what can be understood through the personal knowledge derived from direct experience on the other; rather, they needed to discover personal meaning before they could effectively explore academic topics from the perspective of others. Formal programs can facilitate women's learning when they are encouraged to bring their varied life experiences and personal knowledge to the classroom and to use this knowledge as a personally relevant starting point for understanding the academic knowledge they encounter in their programs of study.

Issues and concerns that are relevant to women traditionally have been excluded from the curricula of most formal educational programs. In order to understand their field of study, women need to examine both traditional and personal questions and knowledge; and in order to feel empowered within their field of study, women need to explore their own issues and concerns, questions and knowledge. By encouraging women to start with themselves before they proceed to the knowledge of experts and others, they can be encouraged to discover their own meanings and can then move outside themselves to explore their field of study in more traditional ways.

Learning is linked to both speaking and listening, giving voice and being heard (Tarule, 1988). Educators must create opportunities for women to identify what they know in order to have that knowledge recognized and so that they may take pride in its value and importance (Gallos, 1992). In feeling heard, a woman may feel recognized; in having her ideas recognized and accepted, a women may feel pride; in feeling proud of her ideas, a woman may feel proud of herself; and in feeling proud of herself, she may feel empowered. The role of the facilitator is to serve as a mid-wife in assisting women to deliver their own knowledge into the world. This, in turn, will assist women to develop the skills and values necessary to become constructed knowers (Belenky et al., 1986). For each woman, the facilitator must discover which part of their knowledge or experience is most important to her. For some women, it is the knowledge which comes from personal experience; for others, it is the fact that the learner has had certain experiences; for others, it is the way in which the learner has used her knowledge in new experiences.

For some women, self-development is tied to the understanding and strengthening of self in relationship to others, through connection and mutuality (Josselson, 1990). Caffarella (1991) describes women's lives as multi-dimensional, fragmented, and complex. This multi-dimensionality may partly explain why issues related to self are part of women's learning agendas at any age. As she takes on new roles and/or leaves others behind, relational learning processes may help the woman to anchor her sense of self within those relationships and maintain a sense of self continuity in all her roles.

Because women's lives are multi-dimensional and complex, there may be many people and experiences competing for their attention, some of which may be very stressful. When a facilitator can respond to her in all her roles, the woman may be more willing and able to bring her whole self to the educational process. Such a process may require that the facilitator include, within the learning activities, many occasions when the kind of talk women need is valued even when it appears to be a digression. It is sometimes through such talk that a woman can find herself and her place within an educational program.

Informal Learning on the Job

The study reported here is being carried out by a group of women at the universities of New Brunswick and Saint Thomas, is funded by a Strategic Grant from SSHRCC, and examines what and how women learn during the first year or two in a new job or position. Data have been gathered from 40 women through in-depth interviews. Half the women have been interviewed only once; the other half were interviewed six times over a period of eight to ten months. The data are still being analyzed and the following information represents our first attempts to find meaning within some 3,000 pages of interview data.

To date, we have categorized the learning reported by the women into five clusters of working knowledge (McFarland et al., 1990; MacKeracher, 1991; cf. Simon et al., 1991): technical knowledge about what it takes to do the work, including knowledge of such things as workplace materials, procedures and language, skills and techniques, rules and expectations for regulating formal workplace roles and interactions; social knowledge about informal workplace relationships; contextual knowledge about the context within which work is done including such ideas as how learning is recognized and work is exchanged for goods, services or remuneration; personal knowledge about one's self as a worker and one's value as a competent worker; and integrated knowledge which provides a organizing framework which places self as the central focus and which integrates other types of working knowledge. We assume that personal working knowledge (self as worker) is but one component of the central focus of integrated working knowledge.

Our preliminary findings suggest that women who lack positive personal knowledge or who are in their first job tend to focus first on technical knowledge; while women who have positive personal knowledge, usually derived from a previous job, tend to focus equally on both technical and social knowledge. We have assumed, therefore, that personal knowledge pre-dates and predetermines other forms of working knowledge, and that training programs for women should focus as much on facilitating the development of positive personal knowledge as on transmitting the technical knowledge required for the occupation or job. One way to assist women to develop positive personal knowledge is to arrange for them to talk with their supervisors about what they are doing and what they are learning. Such talk needs to focus on what the worker is doing that is right. Many of the women in our study told us that they only received feedback when they did something wrong.

Women who lack positive personal knowledge and who find themselves in an authoritarian context in which they perceive that they must do what they are told in order to continue their employment, first learn technical knowledge, then a smattering of social knowledge, and then report that they have nothing more to learn. In authoritarian contexts, working relationships appear to be regulated by rules and expectations, and therefore, are learned as technical rather than social knowledge.

Women who work part-time or in term or contract positions learn less and learn less enthusiastically than women who work full-time or in permanent positions. The women perceived that this results partly from having less time in which to learn and fewer responsibilities around which one must learn, but mostly from the lack of recognition and value placed on their learning by their supervisor or employer and the accompanying feelings that they were unrecognized and devalued as persons. That is, contextual knowledge in non-permanent, part-time work affects personal knowledge which, in turn, affects the learning done in relation to all forms of working knowledge. In a labour market in which women are increasingly employed in term, contract or part-time positions, we will need to find ways to assist women to overcome this problem.

Women-designed Learning Programs

This section focuses on the Management Development Program for Women (MDPW), a one-weekend per month, ten-month program offered through the Department of Extension and Summer Session at the University of New Brunswick. The program was developed under an Innovations Grant from Employment and Immigration Canada and was piloted in 1988 with a women-only group. Every year since, the program has been offered in Fredericton to groups of women who represent federal and provincial government departments and agencies, public and private organizations, and small businesses; and in Saint John to groups of men and women drawn from public and private businesses and industries of varying sizes. The two programs share the same program design and course materials but the instructional staff differs somewhat. In 1987, the MDPW was designed by an advisory group of seven women, all concerned with women's education and training in both formal educational and informal workplace settings. The program units were written, in 1988, by eight female curriculum consultants. The program has been evaluated twice, once during and immediately following the pilot program (Fitzgerald, 1989), and again in 1991.

Five design principles guided the work of the advisory committee and curriculum consultants and were drawn as much from the personal experiences of those involved as from research findings and written opinions about women's learning. This section looks at these guiding principles and evaluative comments from program participants.

The first principle is that most women learn best in relationships (e.g., Belenky et al, 1986; Lyons, 1987; Magolda, 1991); that is most women prefer to do their learning by interacting with others through informal conversations and formal discussion. The program, therefore, strongly emphasizes formal and informal one-to-one and small group activities and learning related to skills in interpersonal communications and knowledge about organizational behaviour. Each woman is expected to have one or more persons in their workplace with whom she can discuss ideas raised in program sessions and assist in completing work-based assignments. Building supportive relationships in the workplace has proved to be the hardest component of the program to ensure.

The second principle is that most women learn best when the material to be learned is presented in a manner which encourages continuous integration of new ideas and skills into the learner's existing framework of workplace knowledge and skills. While we still view this as a valid design principle, we now know that a framework of workplace knowledge and skills is an integral part of a larger framework in which personal identity provides the central framework through which knowledge and skills about many diverse relationships and roles (e.g., worker, manager, parent, wife, child of aging parents, community member, etc.) are integrated. The program is designed so that the various knowledge and skill components are presented, not in separate, sequential and complete units, but as continuing themes presented and returned to throughout the course. Instructors who present a theme early in the program return at a later date to review and enlarge on it.

The third principle is that women learn best when they have opportunities to develop their self-esteem and self-confidence, to gain confidence in their inner voice (e.g., Belenky et al., 1986). To do this, they need to have opportunities to think about themselves, their strengths and weaknesses, their own experiences, actions, thoughts and feelings; to talk about themselves and their personal experiences; to get information about how they are progressing, the effect they are having on others, and the choices they have in introducing changes into their behaviour, their way of organizing and doing work, and their workplace. To facilitate this principle, the planners assumed that women-only groups would be more supportive and less risky that mixed-gender groups (e.g., Spender & Sarah, 1980). As a result of the successful pilot program, several Saint John organizations contracted with UNB's Department of Extension and Summer Session to offer a mixed-gender program so that men could gain the same knowledge and skills as the women. Our experience with both single- and mixed-gender groups has reinforced our belief that women learn more and take more risks when they do not have to contend with the behavioral differences between women and men. The women in the mixed-gender group do not participate as frequently or as freely as the women in the single-gender group. The men in the mixed-gender group appear to benefit extensively from learning about women in the workplace while the women do not comment in a corresponding way with regard to learning about men in the workplace. Our assumption is that, while single-gender groups are best for learning activities which introduce women to new knowledge or skill areas or which represent re-entry experiences into the educational environment or the workplace, continuing programs should be based on mixed-gender groups.

The fourth principle is that women in a management training program need to learn the same knowledge and skills as men in management training programs. Women-only groups differ not in the expert-based knowledge to be introduced, but in the manner in which it is compared and integrated with personal knowledge.

The fifth principle is that women need to learn the value of the personal knowledge they have developed based on their own work experiences. This idea has two parts. On the one hand, women need to believe in the value of their personal knowledge; to discover that, while the knowledge they receive from authorities and experts is useful, their personal knowledge is equally useful; and to develop personally reliable knowledge which combines the best of both sources (e.g., Belenky et al., 1986). The program, therefore, provides opportunities to read about and listen to the knowledge of experts as well as to bring forward, discuss, compare and integrate personal knowledge with expert knowledge.

On the other hand, women need to discover how the male-dominant society has structured knowledge (and organizations) in such a way as to exclude or invalidate women's personal knowledge (e.g., Spender & Sarah, 1980). Often the differences between what men and women know leads to misunderstandings and conflicts (e.g., Tannen, 1986). For example, men appear to view the power to act as residing within the individual who should be capable of separating himself from others and acting objectively and independently to solve problems. Women, on the other hand, appear to view the power to act as being shared among individuals who work co-operatively and interdependently to solve problems. The male view of power implies that women who want to work interdependently are inferior and ineffective; the female view of power implies that men who want to work independently are arrogant and uncooperative. When gender-biases were raised in the mixed-gender program by a female instructor, most of the male participants did not believe or value the knowledge and its implications; when introduced by a male instructor in a later session, the same male participants both believed and valued the knowledge.

The most recent assessment of UNB's management development programs indicates that what stands out for the women is sharing information in the group context, developing supportive networks, gaining in self-confidence and self-awareness, feeling empowered, learning from the diversity of experiences brought by other learners, and learning about organizational behaviour (including gender-biased knowledge), problem solving methods and immediately transferable skills. What stands out for the men is the opportunity to have their thinking challenged in the group context, learning about management style and about women in the workplace.

References

Belenky, M.F., Clinchy, B.M., Goldberger, N.R. & Tarule, J.M. (1986) Women's ways of knowing. New York: Basic Books.

Caffarella, R. (1991) Psychosocial development of women: Implications for teaching and learning. In Proceedings of the Symposium on the Project for the Study of Adult Learning. Normal, IL: Illinois State University, College of Continuing Education and Public Service.

Fitzgerald, P.A. (1989) Meeting the needs of women managers: The UNB training programme. Journal of Management Development, 8(6), 49-54.

Gallos, J. (1992) Educating women and men in the 21st century: Gender diversity, leadership opportunities. The Journal of Continuing Higher Education, Winter, 2-8.

Josselson, R. (1990) Finding herself. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lyons, N.P. (1987) Ways of knowing, learning and making moral choices. Journal of Moral Education, 16(3), 226-239.

MacKeracher, D. (1991) Women's learning and women's work. In Proceedings of the Symposium on the Project for the Study of Adult Learning. Normal, IL: Illinois State University, College of Continuing Education and Public Service.

Magolda, M.B. (1991) Knowing and reasoning in college. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

McFarland, J., MacKeracher, D., Wood, B., & Wall, M. (1990) Women's learning and women's work. In J. Burns, G. Pool & C. McCormick (Eds.), From the margins to the centre, Proceedings of the 25th Anniversary Meeting of the Atlantic Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists. Saint John, NB: University of New Brunswick Saint John.

Mezirow, J. (1991) Transformative dimension of adult learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Simon, R.I., Dippo, D. & Schenke, A. (1991) Learning work: A critical pedagogy of work education. Toronto: OISE Press.

Spender, D. & Sarah, E. (Eds.), Learning to lose: Sexism and education. London: The Women's Press.

Tannen, D. (1986) That's not what I meant! How conversational style makes or breaks your relationships with others. New York: William Morrow.

Tarule, J.M. (1988) Voices of returning women: Ways of knowing. In L.H. Lewis (Ed.), Assessing the needs of returning women, New Directions for Continuing Education Services, No. 39. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Wall, M.E. (1992) The centrality of self in women's learning experiences during graduate study. An unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Brunswick, Faculty of Education, Fredericton, NB.

"Human Resources Think for Themselves"

BY: D'Arcy Martin, National Representative (Education), and
Mahadeo Ketwaroo-Nanoo, President, Local 521,
Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada.

ABSTRACT: Critical reflection from a policy and a workplace perspective on six years of union participation in a joint training initiative in Ontario's electrical manufacturing industry.

RESUME: Bilan critique de six ans d'action syndicale, au niveau du milieu de travail et au niveau de la structure nationale, en elaborant un programme paritaire de formation professionel dans le secteur de manufacture electrique en Ontario.

CONTENTS

A/ Introduction
B/ Workplace Perspectives
C/ Sectoral Perspectives
D/ Potential and Limits of "Worker-Driven Training"

Presentation to the 12th Annual Conference
Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education
"Working Across Our Differences"
Ottawa, Ontario. June 12, 1993.

A/ INTRODUCTION

Our starting points for this discussion are two: a sense of what is happening in industrial workplaces, and a sense of the new structures emerging across Canada for labour force development. To situate the first, we are displaying the visual series "Class Work", prepared by Carole Conde and Karl Beveridge ([1]). To help with the second, we are showing the video "Joint Venture"([2]), used to encourage electrical manufacturing plants to affiliate to the Sectoral Skills Council. We invite you to look at the display and to watch the video before the formal session gets underway.

In our presentation, we will be reflecting critically on union efforts to improve their members' access to adult learning. In keeping with the conference theme of "Working Across Our Differences", we want to make explicit that between D'Arcy and Mahadeo there are differences in social identity, organizational location, and personal perspective ([3]). These deeply affect our perceptions of what is happening, ought to happen and could happen as unions take a stronger role in job training.

Both of us will be referring specifically to the experience of the Sectoral Skills Council. D'Arcy has been deeply involved personally in developing the SSC, and still sits as a labour representative on the Council and the Training Committee. Mahadeo is local union president in a workplace which belongs to the SSC, has established a Joint Workplace Training Committee, and has participated in our union's course "Facing Training".

We have worked together in a research project administered by our union, the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada, and funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research

---

[1] This series is reproduced in small scale, in black and white, with an explanatory text, in the booklet "Class Work", available for $2.00 from the artists at 131 Bathurst Street, Toronto. Phone 416-366-6295.

[2] This video, as well as brochures, the operating handbook and other information, is available from the Sectoral Skills Council, 75 Albert Street, Suite 612, Ottawa K1P 5E7.

[3] On the educational importance of such differences, see Chapter One of the book Educating for a Change, co-authored by Rick Arnold, Bev Burke, Carl James, D'Arcy Martin and Barb Thomas. It is available for $11.95 plus tax and shipping from the Doris Marshall Institute, 64 Charles Street East, Toronto M4Y 1T1. Phone is 416-964-8500.

Council ([4]). Our perspective has been one of participatory research, self-critically examining the experience of workers, local unions and the national union in this initiative from 1986 to 1992. This has also provided an opportunity to assess the strengths and weaknesses of our union's policy on training in the context of economic re-structuring and workplace reorganization ([5]).

---

[4] This project was approved as #884-91-0034, with D'Arcy Martin as chief investigator and David Wolfe of the Political Science Department, University of Toronto, as co-investigator.In total, seven people have worked on this project, namely Mary Stalteri, Helen Jackson, Ajit Sinha, David Wolfe, Doug Allen and ourselves . Here we will emphasize the findings of particular interest to adult educators.

[5] Two union policy documents are relevant here. The first is "", adopted at the 1990 convention, and the other is "", adopted at the 1992 convention. These were developed within the Communications and Electrical Workers of Canada (CWC), which was merged in November 1992 in forming the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada (CEP). The basic policy perspective articulated in these two documents has been approved by the Executive Board of the newly merged union. While it will take some time to work out the implications for the other sectors of CEP, this means that the union will continue its involvement in the Sectoral Skills Council and other initiatives in which worker-driven training can be advanced.

B/ WORKPLACE PERSPECTIVES

Although management is saying that Ontario electrical plants are in a critical situation, it is the old story - they still want to keep everything a secret. It is difficult to get management to be forthright with the workers. Telling the union representatives in Labour Committees and Joint Workplace Training Committees what changes they are looking at, now and in the near future, would be a start. Committees have to know what changes companies are going to make and what kind of tech changes will be taking place, so that they can assess what training workers will need.

It has been said that if you don't know where you are going, then any path will take you there. It might be added that if you don't know where you are starting from, then the chosen path may take you to an unexpected destination. In the workplace, a needs analysis for learning cannot be conducted by the union or the employer alone, since each has information workers need to choose their path.

Workplace reorganization is management's new thing, a new way of making high tech changes in some areas of the plants. They select who they want or even employ new workers at the cost of long time employees' jobs. They have established that the current employees are not qualified. In most cases they use reorganization to try and defeat tech change language in the collective agreement that gives workers the right to be trained.

Preparing current employees for new work processes is easier today than in the past, because workers are saying they want any training that will keep jobs. The workers are aware of the position they are in. They are openly saying that changes will have to be made for the plants to stay open, rather than transferring production to the U.S., Mexico or Asia (6). The workers position is in favour of training to stay working, with some portable skills so that if the jobs do go, they can seek other employment outside the plant.

Older workers have a fear of high tech machinery, with robotics replacing human beings in the workplace. It is sad to see many who have been in the workplace for many years, who thought they had a job for life, scrambling to be educated or trained, and knowing that even improved skills and education do not guarantee a job.

---

[6] A useful survey on writing on these themes is Melanie Courchene, "Training, Retraining and Labour Market Adjustment: an annotated bibliography of selected literature" (Kingston: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University, Bibliography Series No.8, 1991.)

George Schrivjer's report on competitiveness in the electrical manufacturing industry in Canada and the United States, shows that we are in a better position than the Americans if costs and quality are directly compared ([7]). Yet even when we improve productivity, we are trapped by the difference between "external" competitiveness and "internal" competitiveness. If the head offices are in the U.S., the jobs are moved south anyway, and jobs are lost.

Even with this uncertainty, workers are willing to learn. However, they need to have input on where classes are held because many workers left school many years ago and are afraid to go back. They are intimidated on the job and in the classroom by machinery with lights flashing, digital read outs and computer programmed machines that you tell what to make by pushing buttons. They feel embarrassed to return to the classroom, a place with people that they don't even know, trying to do something they may not be able to do. Workers who have been in the workforce for many years, the older workers, are afraid to even touch a computer.

Yet these workers know so much from experience. Their "tacit skills" have been used to train new workers and in some cases new managers. Ignoring that knowledge of workers is a great loss to any company. Just think of the benefits that can be gained if these workers are made able to feel comfortable by influencing when and where they attend classes. It is not surprising that workers would prefer that classes be held in the workplace, during and just after their regular work hours ([8]). By doing so, many problems can be eliminated. Many people have car pools already in place. Some have already made big changes in their lives by moving into homes close to the workplace. Others travel long distances by public transportation. The older workers feel comfortable because they have spent most of their lives in the workplace and have taken whatever little training in that workplace. But the most important reason for training in the workplace is because they will be amongst people they know and work with.

Today, many parents have to work at two jobs to be able to keep up with the cost of living. We don't want training which takes more time away from their family. Family life and work is very difficult to balance. It often causes conflict in families. So to take away some of the little time they spend with their families to attend classes at nights or weekends, may reduce worker interest.

---

[7] See George Schrivjer, "Competitiveness Report" (Toronto: Electrical and Electronic Manufacturers' Association of Canada", 1992).

[8] In a questionnaire distributed to hundreds of our members in four Ontario workplaces, 80% of the respondents said they prefer classes to held in the workplace. See the summary by Doug Allen, "Training in the Unionized Electrical Industry: What the members say" (Toronto: C.E.P., 1993).

Talking to workers, they are saying we want to be educated/trained to be able to stay working but we also want to be happy. How can a working single parent have any interest in anything else after working eight hours or longer to survive? That single parent has to get to a child care centre at a certain time or start paying extra. The extra money paid for childcare will affect their lives -- what they have for dinner next week, or the baseball glove or basketball for their children to play with their friends. Given this choice, workers will drop out of class.

For training to be effective in the workplace, to build people's confidence, and to enrich rather than strain their home lives, workers need to be educated during working times in the workplace or very close to the workplace.

The question of who teaches is more complicated. For many years, new employees have been "shown the ropes" by experienced co-workers who have done the job previously. So, it is natural that when asked, our members prefer to be taught by their co-workers. Yet skills training today needs to be broader than operating and maintaining the machines already installed. With all the tech change that is being introduced, digital measuring instruments, computers, machinery that has to be programmed through a terminal - co-workers, aren't in a position to provide current and portable skills on their own. They need support from adult educators who have other knowledge and qualifications.

In the new ways of doing things, the co-workers and supervisors will need to be trained as well. These adult educators should understand sympathetically the barriers faced by workers of all ages ([9]) and be able to familiarize themselves with the workplace. They should acquire some knowledge of what is manufactured and see how it is being made as well as what instruments are being used.

---

[9] See the discussion on effective methods and designs in the unpublished paper by Elaine Anne Hardacre on older workers (aged 45-64), entitled "Training Policy and Practice". It was written at Queen's University, and is available from the Ontario Education office of the C.E.P.

C/ SECTORAL PERSPECTIVES

Ontario's electrical manufacturing industry is facing an upheaval. Economic re-structuring in the wake of the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S., accelerated technological change both in the production processes and the products themselves, and shifts in the demography of the province have forced employers to re-consider their stance towards training and towards unions. With relatively few new entrants into the work force, the skilled, flexible employees they will need to survive will have to be found among the people now on the job, many of whom are unionized.

Discussion among employers and governments about training begins from the need for productivity and competitiveness, and deduces from there the training needs and delivery systems required. For unionists, the starting point is the felt need of workers for security, variety, dignity and income through their work. These are the pre-conditions for unionists to develop and implement training programs at the workplace and the sector.

When our union first sat down to talk training seriously with employers, we had to recognize that employers had a "free rider" problem. When we convinced an employer to train our members, a neighbouring employer often raided the resulting skilled workers for slightly higher wages. The employer's investment wound up benefitting their competitors.

Similarly, the employers had to recognize our interest in portable, certifiable skills for all our members. We wanted an end to narrow, "competency-based" training which would equip a minority of workers for their current work but didn't develop the generic skills of the whole workforce, the key to choice in the future.

Since these problems couldn't be resolved at the level of the firm, we opted to address them at the level of the sector. Since July, 1990, employers, union locals, provincial and federal governments all contribute to a training fund from which employees can draw to develop their job skills. Access is ensured for those with the lowest formal education, and joint workplace training committees are encouraged to reach women, immigrants, indigenous people and the disabled.

The structure which was established, the Sectoral Skills Council, has four basic organizational features:
(i) it doesn't replace collective bargaining. In fact, in unionized plants, a decision to join the Council must be written into the collective agreement.
(ii) the control is internal, which means that only management and labour are involved in the running of the Council. Relations with government and the educational institutions are of course essential to effectiveness, but neither has a voting role in the Council decisions.

(iii) it operates on the basis of consensus. This means that either group has the right of veto. There's no neutral chair. Either we agree or nothing happens. There's a powerful external discipline that says neither management nor labour can afford for nothing to happen. So in a structure of mutual veto, people are forced to listen to each other and to dig deep inside as to what really matters.
(iv) it's a parity structure. This means you have six management people named through the employer association and six worker representatives named through the unions. Yet the electrical and electronic manufacturing sector in Ontario is largely non-union. By insisting that the Steering Committee of the Sectoral Skills Council consist of six union and six management representatives, the principle was established that non-union employees are represented by unions in terms of the decision making power.

This agreement now covers nearly 20,000 workers across the province, and provides opportunities for job-related training, personal development courses and union seminars. The amounts are still small compared to what is done in some other countries. In Sweden, workers in this sector will receive more training in a month than my members will receive in a year even with this Sectoral Skills Council. But each of us has to start from where we are.

Local union officers are developing confidence and sensitivity to members as they assess and meet the full range of learning needs. Without dropping our adversarial commitment to defend our members' rights, we are also developing a new level of mutual respect with managers in the sector. Our members now see their union as a vehicle for learning and for protecting their health, as well as negotiating wages and benefits. The majority who never have individual disputes with management now have ongoing contact with their union representatives in ways that increase their range of interests and job choices.

Naturally, this initiative is controversial. At this time, some unions in electrical and electronic manufacturing are hesitant to participate in the Sectoral Skills Council. Some union leaders in other sectors resist the idea. And some employers believe that labour has nothing to contribute to the training process.

We can afford some positive controversy about the ways that worker skill enhance technological capability, and about the kinds of power sharing needed in tomorrow's workplaces. We won't all agree on the paths ahead, but in my view, choosing to remain marginal to the skills debate is a sure recipe for union irrelevance in the future.

D/ POTENTIAL AND LIMITS OF WORKER-DRIVEN TRAINING

Unions see training as a universal right, not as a gift contingent on skills shortages or employer-defined needs. Worker-driven training, according to the policy of the Ontario Federation of Labour, would have seven main characteristics:

(i) It must be developmental. Skills must be taught in a way which is not simply limited to a particular job. The participant must come away from the experience better able to take on a variety of tasks in the future.

(ii) Programs must be open to all, not just the youngest or fittest members of the workforce. Training must become a vehicle for correcting the discrimination against women, visible minorities, native people and the disabled have had to contend with in both the educational system and the workplace.

(iii) Skills training must reflect workers' identification of skills needs. In other words, it must not be restricted to narrowly-defined job performance factors as determined by employers or consultants.

(iv) Skills training must enable workers to have more control over their jobs. In this way the training experience becomes a genuinely empowering one -- individually and collectively.

(v) Skills training must incorporate the practices of good adult education, starting with an understanding of what participants already know and what they want to know. It must respect the many abilities people bring to training, and encourage questioning, discussion and participation.

(vi) Skills training must help people work more safely, and learn about individual and collective rights. It must equip the participant to put that knowledge and experience into action.

(vii) Skills training must support the development of good job design, and technology that enhances the skills of workers.

These "guidelines for good training" are the philosophical basis within which proposals for reorganizing Canada's training system are being formulated by unionists. The are the basis for assessing ideas of a payroll tax, a levy-grant system, paid educational leave, and new structures for assessing needs and delivering programs. With the newly-acquired experience of unions in teaching English as a second language to immigrant members and literacy to a widening pool of members, the traditional experience of union educators in "tool courses" is giving way to a broader and richer perspective, which equips unionists to participate in the full range of public policy debate about adult education.

The labour movement, then, wants to shift the balance towards broad rather than narrow; towards worker-driven rather than competency-based; towards choice for the learner rather than flexibility for the employer. In Canada, however, we have yet to make a clear choice as to how employment re-structuring will be handled, and without this frame of reference it is next to impossible to set specific goals for training.

In this regard, the image of the future held by most union economists clashes with the prevailing wisdom among government officials. Unionists are sceptical of the claims of prophets of the "information economy", and expect that natural resources and industry will co-exist with services for a very long time to come. With the diversity of job skills implied in this mixed economy, planning will need to de-centralize, and new relationships develop among learners, educational institutions, employers, government and unions. We see the Sectoral Skills Council as one effort to respond to this challenge.

Donald Schon of MIT says that most professional theory is developed on a clear, high ledge, from which writers can observe the landscape, the plains and swamps. Unfortunately, most of the world's problems are down below, from which that ledge is only faintly visible. He and others like Mechthild Hart ([10]) have challenged people to build theory from below.

Of course that's easier said than done, and reports to a conference like this are far from the discussions underway among members in our workplaces. As we speak, they are answering telephone enquiries, assembling electrical components, and arguing grievances with management, and worrying about their futures.

This "reality test" was a powerful motivator for us to do the most solid research possible. The research team had full access to all minutes and records of the SSC since its inception, to two membership surveys on education and training conducted by the union, to an employer-initiated analysis of workplace productivity, and to labour meetings on training policy at the provincial and federal levels ([11]).

---

[10] Mechthild U. Hart, Working and Educating for Life: Feminist and International Perspectives on Adult Education (New York: Routledge, 1991).

[11] D'Arcy was a founding member of the Training Committees at both the Ontario Federation of Labour and the Canadian Labour Congress. The state of labour discussion on these matters is captured well in two issues of the magazine Our Schools/ Our Selves. The first, from 1991, was entitled "It's Our Own Knowledge", and the second, from 1992, was entitled "Training for What?"

Our research is still underway, but preliminary results indicate:

- that the participation of union reps in joint workplace training committees strengthens the local and increases member interest in both vocational and general adult education.
- that union participation in the process has done little to improve gender, cultural and racial equity in training.
- that most joint training activity is management-initiated and quite narrowly job-related.
- that the sectoral structures increase inter-union cooperation within the sector, but perpetuate the relative advantage of more unionized and skilled workers.

This work breaks new ground in three main ways:

- it has brought workplace activists and academic researchers together to articulate labour's educational objectives in a context of economic re-structuring and workplace reorganization.
- it has assessed the grassroots impacts of new "labour force development" structures which are springing up all over Canada.
- it has generated new insight into the potential and limits of "open field" bargaining over learning in a changing economic context.

To maintain a system requires understanding its inter-connections. To transform a system requires grasping its principles of motion. Since the labour movement negotiates within existing power arrangements, while mobilizing to change the economic order, we require both kinds of knowledge. Yet the dynamics of a subordinated institution like a Canadian trade union work against acquiring and applying either. In this sense, a union perspective on training is a case of the general problem of popular participation in shaping the workplace and the society of the future.

A MODEL FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION PARTICIPATION AMONG MEMBERS OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS

M.R. MATTHIAS, P.Eng., Ph.D.
Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, AECL Research

This model was conceived following the investigation of 59 subjects from the engineering, pharmacy and medical professions, as part of a doctoral thesis in adult education (University of Toronto). The conceptual model comprises two parts: the workplace environment and the various forces that interact in the practitioner's mind to determine the likelihood of participation in ongoing learning. These forces are referred to as expectancy and valence, and are affected by the learner's past experience in learning and the perception and interpretation of the workplace environment. The proposed model is a step in adult education theory building. Limitations and implications for future research will be addressed.

On a conçu ce modèle à la suite de l'enquête faite auprès de 59 sujets des professions technique, pharmaceutique et médicale dans le cadre d'une thèse de doctorat en éducation permanente (des adultes) (Université de Toronto). Le modèle conceptuel comprend deux parties: le milieu du lieu de travail et les diverses forces qui s'influencent mutuellement dans l'esprit du practicien pour déterminer la probabilité de la participation à l'éducation permanente. On appelle ces forces probabilité (chances) et valence; elles sont influencées par l'expérience antérieure en éducation de la personne qui apprend et par la perception et l'interprétation du milieu du lieu de travail. Le modèle proposé est une étape de l'édification de la théorie de l'éducation permanente (des adultes). On examine les limites et les conséquences de la recherche future.

In their national survey of adult learners in the U.S.A., Johnstone and Rivera (1965) discovered that "the incidence of self education was greater than originally anticipated," and concluded that: "it is probably the most overlooked avenue of activity in the whole field of adult education" (cited by Cross (1981), p.63). Many researchers, encouraged by Johnstone and Rivera's findings, attempted to address this shortcoming through additional research. In Canada, Tough, a pioneering researcher in self-directed learning (SDL), introduced the concept of the learning project. A number of researchers followed Tough's lead in quantifying the extent of SDL by using the learning project approach. They included Johns (1973), McCatty (1973), Coolican (1974), Rymell (1981), and Hummel (1985). The study by McCatty (1973) is the closest to the present study, since it is based on interviews of 54 male professionals in Toronto, representing nine professions.

In the past, adult education studies generally have examined adults from all walks of life and all age groups, as if adults were a homogeneous group. Only a small number of researchers have looked at professionals from a particular profession or professions as a coherent and separate group. Among those researchers were: Johns (1973), McCatty (1973), Fales (1975), Rymell (1981), Hummel (1985) and Richards (1986). The current study (Matthias (1991 and 1992)) marks the first time that a researcher has conducted a probing interview with a good-sized sample of defined age groups/experience levels representing three professions as a distinct group of learners. The study sought subjects' responses to six questions dealing with their perception of continuing competence and the means they adopted to keep themselves current in their field of practice. The questions were:

1. How do you perceive continuing competence as it relates to someone in your profession?
2. What criteria or measure did you use to assess continuing competence?
3. In your efforts to keep current, what were the various means and strategies you selected to achieve this goal?
4. To what extent has SDL contributed to keeping you current in your field of practice?
5. How much time did you spend per week, during the last 12 months on various activities or tasks you perceive to have contributed to improving your skill or performance, upgrading your knowledge or helping you keep current?
6. Looking back over the last 12 months, which was (were) the most beneficial or rewarding learning experience(s) and what accounts for it (them)?

The population for the study was selected from active practitioners in Toronto. Fifty-nine male professionals (twenty engineers, twenty physicians and nineteen pharmacists), representing all age groups from 25 to 65 years old, participated in the study. The selection of males only was due to the limited number of female practitioners in these professions and the desire to eliminate gender as an additional variable.

THE MODEL

The model (Figure 1) is a hybrid between the "expectancy-valence" model advanced by Rubenson (1977), and the continuing education of health professionals developed by Suter et al. (1981). The expectancy-valence part draws heavily from the work of psychologists like Lewin (1947) as quoted in Cross (1981):

> These psychologists explain human behaviour in terms of interaction between the individual and the environment, as he perceives and experiences it. The resultant strength of the individual's motivation is determined by combining the positive and negative forces existing in the individual and the environment (p.116).

Expectancy, according to Rubenson, as quoted in Cross (1981, pp.116-7), is the product of two components: (1) the expectation of the learner to succeed in the education act (partly influenced by past experience; and (2) the expectation that being successful will have desirable consequences (partly influenced by the perception and interpretation of the environment). Valence, on the other hand, as cited by Cross (1981), is concerned with the individual's affect, and can either be negative, positive or zero. The value of the valence vector is determined by the sum of the values the learner assigns to the various outcomes of participation in learning. These outcomes are influenced by the positive or negative forces perceived by the learner. For example, for some adults, affiliation with peers, professional recognition and pride of being considered an authority in the field are seen as positive forces, while time away from family and friends, cost involved in learning and potential loss of earning due to absence from work are seen as negative forces.

The stimulus to further learning, as proposed in the model, essentially comes as a result of the relative strengths of the two conflicting vectors: expectancy and valence. If the sum of these two vectors is positive (i.e., more positive forces than negative or opposing forces), most likely the professional will participate in further learning. If the sum is negative (i.e., the positive forces are overtaken by the negative ones), most likely the practitioner will not participate in further learning.

The expectancy-valence concept of participation in continuing learning may be applied to almost all adults for predicting their likelihood of participating in further learning. However, the other part of the model (the workplace setting), with its continuing feedback to the practicing professional, emphasizes the notion that professionals are a distinct group of learners among adults. The effect of workplace feedback (through peers, superiors and clients) and the influence of new technology are seen as motivational forces which positively influence the likelihood of participation in further learning. If the professional is to take part in further learning -- and thus assumes the responsibility of defining the objectives of learning needs, acquiring the knowledge and skills, as a self-directed learner, and applying the acquired skills/knowledge back into the workplace -- this would be the ideal situation where the learning needs, as defined by the workplace, have been effectively addressed.

In less-than-ideal situations, where the practitioner is perceived as willing to acquire further learning, but is unable to assume full responsibility for defining the learning objectives, he/she may choose one of the programs or services provided by a continuing education provider to address the learning needs. However, it must be emphasized that, whether the professional is a self-directed learner or chooses to select one or more of the programs/services from a continuing education provider, it is the learner who must apply the acquired knowledge/skills to the workplace, to ensure that the workplace learning needs have been effectively addressed.

In summary, the conceptual model's salient features are:

1. The continuing competence is a dynamic process, based on the practitioner's discipline, autonomy and accountability. The workplace setting is seen as the environment that identifies the potential learning needs at the conclusion of, or during the performance of, the service or task.
2. The quality of a task outcome is a function of the interaction of the professional's competence, the employer's degree of incorporating new technology in the workplace, the patient's/client's competence to understand the work and the role of the professional, and the degree of diffusion of new knowledge and technology.
3. The feedback from the workplace and the impact of new knowledge and technology are seen as positive motivating factors for the professional to participate in further learning.
4. Continuing competence is seen as the provision of an optimum service to a client, patient, or employer. The learning need, as perceived by the professional, can be met either by self-planned activities by the learner, or in partnership with continuing

education providers. The nature of the partnership and the relative degree of interaction shall depend on the level of development of the professional's SDL abilities.

5. Whether learning needs are met by self-planned learning or through programs/services offered by a continuing education provider, it is the learner who must apply the acquired knowledge/skills to the workplace, to ensure that the learning needs, arising from the workplace, have been effectively addressed.
6. Continuing learning as a means of continuing competence, as conceptualized in this model, is essentially contextual in nature (Sanford (1989)). It is seen as addressing the professionals' varying needs on an ongoing basis. It is believed that SDL training among would-be professionals, would greatly enhance the continuing competence among practicing professionals, as more and more of them assume the responsibility for defining their learning needs and applying the acquired skills to their workplaces. (The ideas and many of the features of the model are borrowed from Suter et al. (1981).)

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY BUILDING

In commenting on the lack of theory in adult education, Cross (1981) stated:

> One of the most underutilized vehicles for understanding various aspects of adult learning is theory. The notable lack of theory in adult education has led to some harsh words by some of its best friends (p.109).

While it is widely believed that adults as learners have many characteristics in common, the author strongly believes that professionals constitute a distinct group of learners. Therefore, it is unlikely that one theory of adult learning would ever be conceived that would apply to all adults, including professionals. The proposed conceptual model is a contribution to theory building in adult education, and is a step towards incorporating into a cohesive conceptual model the previous concepts of expectancy-valence advanced by Rubenson (1977) and the continuing education of health professionals advanced by Suter et al. (1981).

It is hoped that other researchers would assess the applicability of this model to other professionals, in smaller communities and remote areas, to establish bench marks for similarities and differences among professionals as adult learners.

REFERENCES

Coolican, P.M. "Self-Planned Learning: Implications for the Future of Adult Education." Technical Report 74,507, Syracuse: Education Policy Research Centre, Syracuse University, 1974.

Cross, K.P. Adults As Learners, San Franciso: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1981.

Fales, Ann "Self-Actualization Motivation and Continuing Professional Education in a Sample of Engineers." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975.

Hummel, Linda J. "An Investigation of Physician Self-Directed Learning Activities." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Michigan State University, 1985.

Johns, W.E. "Selected Characteristics of the Learning Projects Pursued by Practicing Pharmacists." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, 1973.

Johnstone, J.W. and Rivera, R.J. Volunteers for Learning, Chicago: Aldine, 1965.

Lewin, K. "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science." Human Relations June 1947: 5-41.

Matthias, Milad R. "A Comparative Study of Continuing Competence Among Male Members of Selected Professions." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1991.

Matthias, Milad R. "A Comparative Study of Continuing Competence Among Male Members of Selected Professions." A paper presented to the 1992 Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for Studies in Adult Education, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, May 1992.

McCatty, Cressy, A.M. "Patterns of Learning Projects Among Professional Men." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1973.

Richards, Robert K. "Physicians' Self-Directed Learning: A New Perspective for continuing Medical Education I. Reading" Mobius Vol.6, April 1986: 1-15.

Richards, Robert K. "Physicians' Self-Directed Learning: A New Perspective for Continuing Medical Education II. Learning from Colleagues." Mobius Vol.6, June 1986: 1-7.

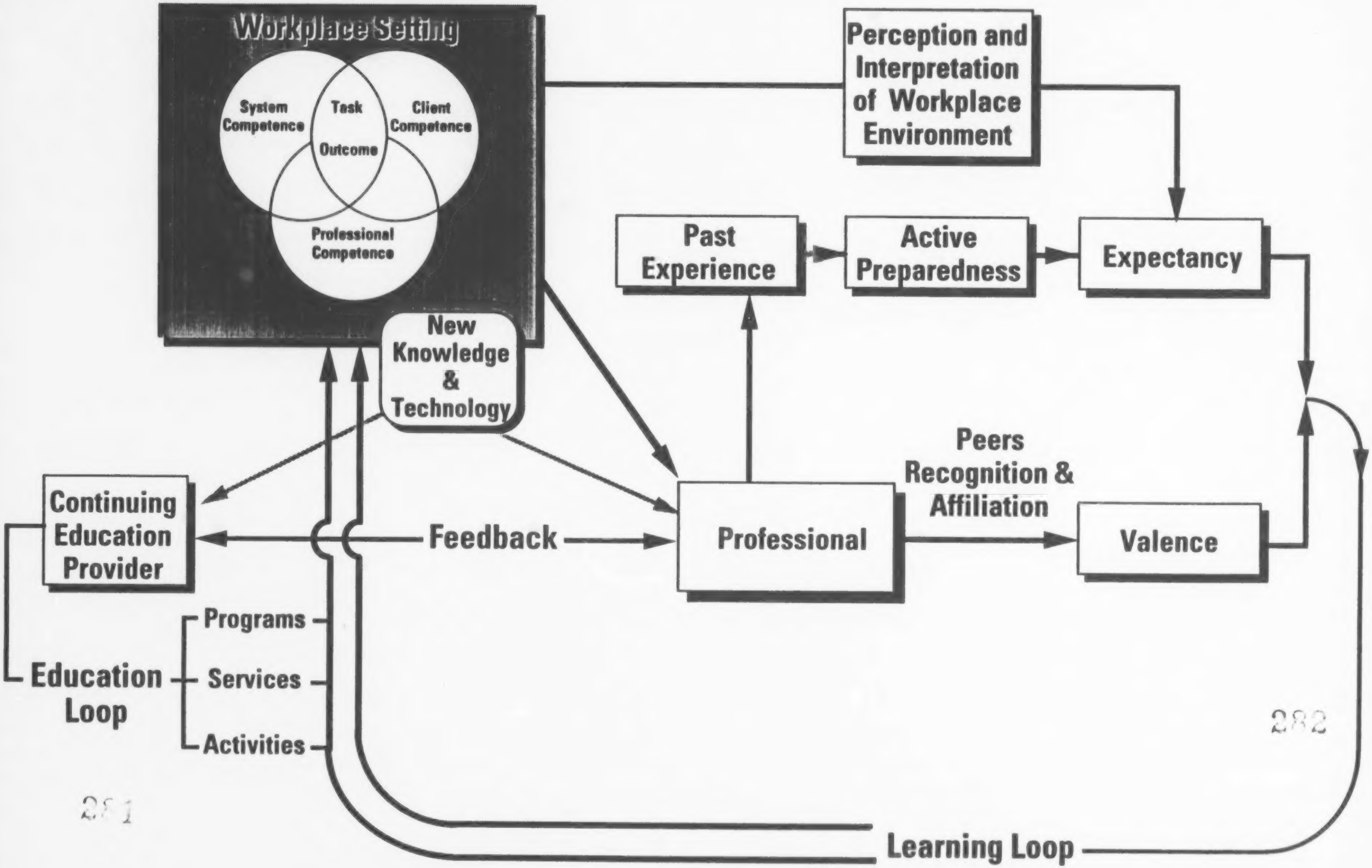
Richards, Robert K. "Physicians' Self-Directed Learning: A New Perspective for Continuing Medical Education III. The Physician and Self-Directed Learning Projects." Mobius, Vol.6, August 1986: 1-14.

Rymell, Robert G. "Learning Projects Pursued by Adult Degreed Engineers." Ph.D. dissertation, North Texas University, Denton, 1981.

Sanford, Barbara, ed. Strategies for Maintaining Professional Competence: A Manual for Professional Associations and Faculties Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1989.

Suter, Emanuel, et al. "Continuing Education of Health Professionals: Proposal for a Definition of Quality." Journal of Medical Education 1981, Vol.56(8): 689-707.

Tough, Allen M. The Adult Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971.


Workplace Setting
System Competence
Task
Client Competence
Outcome
Professional Competence
Perception and Interpretation of Workplace Environment
Past Experience
Active Preparedness
Expectancy
New Knowledge & Technology
Continuing Education Provider
Feedback
Professional
Peers Recognition & Affiliation
Valence
Programs
Services
Activities
Education Loop
Learning Loop

Continuing Education Participation Model

Dimension spirituelle de la personne et éducation des adultes

Claude Michaud
Faculté d'éducation
Université d'Ottawa

Résumé : La modernité facilite peu le processus de construction de la personnalité adulte. Une recherche faite auprès de 167 jeunes adultes inscrits à la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa a mis en lumière l'étroite relation qu'ils perçoivent entre le développement spirituel et le développement de la personnalité. L'adulte ne saurait se réaliser pleinement sans une expérience spirituelle significative. Comment en tenir compte dans l'étude de l'éducation des adultes?

Abstract : Modernity does not enhance the total personal development. A survey of 167 young adults enrolled in the University of Ottawa, Faculty of Education, has revealed that these students perceive a strong relationship between their spiritual experience and personality growth. Adults are not able to realize their full potential without having significant spiritual experience. How can the study of adult education best assume this preoccupation?

1. POINT DE DÉPART DE L'ÉTUDE

Le spirituel est de retour. Après plusieurs décennies de silence et de désintéressement à son sujet, voilà qu'il revient à la mode, coïncidant en ceci avec le retour de la morale rebaptisée sous le nom d'éthique. Sans doute est-on en train de redécouvrir que "l'on ne peut pas vivre sans vie spirituelle pas plus que l'on peut vivre sans économique et sans politique", Mander (1991).

De l'humanisme à la réémergence du spirituel

Sans rien perdre de la montée de l'humanisme séculier qui, dans les années de l'après-guerre a ramené l'attention sur l'humain et sur ses potentialités merveilleuses, il faut se réjouir de la préoccupation nouvelle qui se manifeste pour le spirituel tout en nous gardant d'oublier que s'il est un facteur indispensable à la construction de l'être, il peut aussi le détruire. La tragédie de Waco, le 19 avril dernier, résonne douloureusement dans nos têtes. L'expérience spirituelle ne va pas sans un effort rigoureux de discernement. Elle a besoin de soins attentifs et de repères. Moore(l993).

L'expérience spirituelle est constitutive de la personnalité. Force intime chevillée à l'être profond elle préside à l'identité; elle est ce qui révèle l'individu à lui-même et aux autres; elle le situe dans l'univers. A un autre niveau, "la quête de la spiritualité, écrit Peter Newman (l993), c'est ce qui permet à l'individu de reprendre le controle véritable sur sa propre vie". La présente recherche a voulu pousser un peu plus loin l'étude de cette dimension fondamentale de la personnalité en posant les trois questions suivantes à 167 jeunes adultes inscrits à la Faculté d'Education de l'Université d' Ottawa au cours de la présente année universitaire:

1- Quel rapport établissent-ils entre expérience spirituelle et développement de la personnalité?
2- Que connote ou que signifie pour eux le terme spirituel?
3- Quelle relation existe-t-il entre leur expérience spirituelle et leur religion d'appartenance?

2. REVUE DE LA LITTÉRATURE ET CADRE THÉORIQUE

Le best-seller de Marilyn Ferguson (l978) The aquarian conspiracy - Toward a new paradigm, publié en français sous le titre Les enfants du Verseau (l981), a balisé la route au retour du spirituel. Il a du même coup annexé à la psychologie un terme ou une réalité vis-à-vis laquelle elle est peu à l'aise. Non pas que la psychologie ne se préoccupent pas de religion et de spirituel (William James, l902), (Jung, l966, l984,.1989), (Freud, l927) et plus près de nous (Fromm, 1950, 1968, 1976), (Rollo May, 1950, 1953, 1967), (Maslow, l964, l967, 1971), (Rogers, 1970), mais parce que le discours qu'elle porte sur l'un et l'autre est ambigu. La psychologie en général ne sait pas encore si la religion et le spirituel en tant qu'objet doivent être observés comme une maladie ou comme un facteur d'épanouissement psychique. D'ou l'impact du discours psychologique actuel qui, par sa marginalité même, semble rejoindre d'autant plus les grands courants populaires.

Même intérêt du coté de la sociologie où l'on retrouve dès le départ, la préoccupation pour la religion et la religiosité en tant qu'expression de la dimension spirituelle de l'individu et phénomène social normal (Durkheim, 1922), (Weber, l920). Pour les modernes, les questions portent surtout sur ce qui arrive à la religion dans la société industrielle avancée (Desroche. l968), (Luckmann. l967), (Berger l967, l969, l973); (Bellah, l970, l985); (Geertz, l973), (Turner, 1983), (Gauchet, 1985), (Bibby, 1988), (Lemieux & Milot, 1992). Une interrogation tend présentement à prédominer : quelle est l'impact de la modernité sur l'individu abandonné à lui-même pour répondre à son double besoin de compréhension et de récomfort? Ou exprimé autrement, qu'en est-il de l'expérience spirituelle de nos comtemporains? (Bombardier & Saint-Laurent, 1989), (Charron, Lemieux & Théroux, 1992). Fait intéressant, plusieurs scientifiques interviennent dont deux largement connus, Hubert Reeves (1990), et Albert Jacquard (1991) pour affimer l'espace du spirituel.

3. CLARIFICATION DE CONCEPTS

Un effort de clarification des concepts s'impose dans cet univers complexe de l'expérience spirituelle et du phénomène religieux dans lequel il baigne.

Le Nouvel Age. Le Nouvel Age est à la fois une philosophie et un mouvement qui traduit pour une part importante la perception de l'expérience religieuse de l'ensemble de nos contemporains. Il est centré sur la croissance personnelle et l'ouverture aux forces cosmiques imprégnées de divin (Ferguson, 1990), (Vernette, 1990), (Bergeron, Bouchard & Pelletier,1992), (Charron, 1992), (Lasch, 1979).

Le spirituel. C'est l'espace dans lequel chaque être humain recherche un ou des sens à sa vie" Marchand (1991). Cette entreprise d'unification de son expérience correspond à l'appel à la pleine réalisation de soi ou à l'appel à la plénitude inscrit en tout être humain. Elle est la route d'accès à l'authenticité et à l'identité (Schneider, 1989), (Breton, 1992), (Charron, 1990), (Malherbe, 1990). L expérience spirituelle peut se dérouler dans l'ouverture explicite à la transcendance ou dans son refus; elle peut s'enraciner dans une religion organisée ou pas; elle peut accueillir le divin tout en récusant le rapport avec la religion institutionnalisée. Un certain nombre d'individus mettent en opposition expérience spirituelle et expérience religieuse. Par contre, pour la grande majorité des individus, la foi, définie comme l'acte de croire au divin, est au coeur de l'expérience spirituelle.

La foi. La foi ce n'est pas d'abord un dogme ou la doctrine d'une religion mais un acte du sujet qui constitue le substrat de l'existence humaine (Lemieux, 1992), (Fowler, 1981), (Charron, 1992). L'acte de croire ou la foi, au sens anthropologique du terme, opère à trois niveaux : celui de toutes les informations et affirmations non immédiatement vérifiables auxquelles l'individu adhère spontanément dans le quotidien de l'existence; celui des idéologies et des valeurs susceptibles de donner sens et direction à la vie; enfin, celui du divin.

Le mot foi, perçu comme élément normal de l'expérience spirituelle que Tillich (1968) définit comme étant "l'acte le plus intérieur et le plus englobant de l'esprit humain", est communément réservé pour référer à Dieu. Certains individus vivent toutefois une expérience spirituelle significative sans ouverture à la transcendance.
Expérience spirituelle, foi et identité : Quel rapport existe t-il entre l'expérience spirituelle, la foi et l'identité? Le concept d'identité renvoie au processus d'appropriation de la vision et des valeurs qui situent l'individu face aux autres et au monde en même temps qu'il lui lui dit qui il est (Erikson, I975). La foi en tant qu'acte de croire est un élément essentiel à l'acquisition de la vision profonde de l'existence, toujours à redéfinir, qui guide l'individu. L'expérience spirituelle est l'espace et l'action qui sous-tend cette double acquisition existentielle. Bref trois réalités étroitement reliées. Il est permis d'affirmer que le développement de la dimension spirituelle de la personne est l'acte constitutif de son identité, la foi en tant que vision profonde de l'existence étant un élément constitutif.
Modernité : La modernité est un des concepts les plus communément utilisés pour définir la société industrielle. Une société axée d'une part sur la science et la technologie et, d'autre part, axée sur le libéralisme économique qui en constitue le système dominant et dont les valeurs déterminantes sont la rationalité, la productivité et la compétition, valeurs sociales sous-tendues par les valeurs plus individuelles de liberté, d'égalité et de tolérance (Taylor, I992), (Turner, I990), (Baum, I990),(Valadier, I989), (Ellul, I977), (Bell, 1976), (Kahn & Wiener, 1972). Si les capacités positives de la modernité sont évidentes, ses forces négatives le sont non moins. Les valeurs qu'elles a imposées ont réduit l'espace du symbolique, du spirituel et de la convivialité.

On parle présentement de postmodernité en tant qu'expression d'une sensibilité nouvelle qui vient dénonçer les limites de la première et réaffirmer la place de la dimension spirituelle de la personne et des formes d'expressions individuelles et collectives qu'elles sont appelées à prendre (Lemieux, I992), (Gauthier, I991), (Lemieux & Meunier, I990). (Lyotard, I979). Le retour de l'éthique et du spirituel, sans parler du retour du religieux tout court, sont les meilleurs indicateurs de ce qui apparaît comme un passage indéniable caractéristique de cette fin de siècle.

4. MÉTHODOLOGIE DE LA RECHERCHE

La cueillette des données et la population étudiée : Un questionnaire a été administré à l67 étudiantes et étudiants inscrits à la Formation des Maitres à la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa suivi de l2 entrevues semi-structurées auprès de sujets choisis dans le même groupe.

Le traitement des données : Le processus de l'analyse factorielle est apparu le plus approprié facilitant la jonction entre la double analyse qualitative et quantitative des données.

5. RÉSULTATS DE LA RECHERCHE

Interprétation globale

Le rapport entre le développement spirituel et le développement de la personnalité. Pour 61 % des répondants, les deux sont intimement reliés. 46 % affirment que le rapport qu'ils perçoivent entre les deux est très important ou important. "La dimension spirituelle *est* la personne" écrit une étudiante. "Le développement de ma personne et l'expérience spirituelle sont presque synomymes..." affirme une autre. Au terme de l'analyse des protocoles, quatre concepts clés regroupant les termes apparus avec le plus de fréquence ont émergé dans l'ordre suivant : Intériorité, Sens à la vie, Identité et Transcendance. Le fait d'avoir une pratique religieuse ou non ne semble pas avoir d'incidence marquante sur la perception du rapport étroit qu'ils voient entre le spirituel et la croissance de l'être.

Que signifie le mot spirituel ou dimension spirituelle de la personne? Si au départ on avait fait l'hypothèse que le spirituel est perçu comme important pour les jeunes adultes, ce qui par contre etait moins clair, c'est ce en quoi il consiste ou ce qu'il signifie pour eux. L'analyse a révélé, d'une part, que la définition qu'ils en donnent s'inscrit en continuité avec celle de la mystique, de la théologie et de la psychologie et, d'autre part, qu'elle est sensiblement la même chez tous.

Les mots spirituel, dimension spirituelle ou expérience spirituelle renvoient essentiellement à l'intériorité, lieu de l'unification de l'être et source d'identité. Pour tous cette expérience est axée sur un référent qui a valeur d'absolu.

Le rapport entre l'expérience spirituelle et la religion d'appartenance : À la question posée : Dans quelle mesure leur expérience spirituelle est-elle articulée sur la religion de leur enfance? La réponse se ramène aux trois concepts clés suivants qui se sont dégagé de l'analyse : CONTINUITÉ, DISTANCIATION ET RUPTURE.

Pour 95,2 % des répondants, l'expérience spirituelle se joue autour d'une triple problématique, celle de son rapport à la pratique, celle de son rapport avec la doctrine et l'institution, celle de son rapport avec l'essentiel du projet chrétien. La recherche à poursuivre consisterait à saisir la dynamique qui préside à l'évolution spirituelle de chacun.

Emergence de quatre profils

Face à cette véritable mosaique du spirituel qui traduit des cheminements très divers, la contruction d'une typologie qui réussit à ne pas trop sacrifier au réductionnisme inhérent à toute entreprise de classification, s'est avérée une tâche intéressante et éclairante à la fois. "L'appartenance" à la religion catholique a constitué le référentiel de base. Il s'agissait dès lors de regrouper cette variété d'expériences tout en la plaçant sur un continuum. À cette fin, la typologie construite autour des quatre concepts : inductif, déductif, réductif et détaché, proposée par Berger (l979a) et reprise par Zondag (1992) est apparue particulièrement significative.

Les profils dégagés vont de l'expérience chrétienne significative à l'aventure "spirituelle" en rupture avec toute religion, en passant par les adeptes de la "religion tranquille", jusqu'aux clients de la "religion à la carte". Les termes plus existentiels choisis pour décrire chacun des profils n'impliquent aucun jugement de valeurs pas plus qu'ils ne prétendent fournir un portrait achevé de l'individu. . (Tableau). Quelles sont les principales caractérisques de chacun des profils?

Les intégrés : Ce sont celles et ceux qui vivent une expérience spirituelle personnelle et critique axée sur l'héritage chrétien. Leur foi les renvoie à un Dieu personnel et à Jésus de Nazareth en tant que point de repère et source d'inspiration. Ils sont peu nombreux, soit 7,8 % des sujets. L'age médiane est de 30,8. Ce profil est fait de 9 femmes et de 4 hommes. Ces résultats tombent tout à fait dans la "normale" si on les compare aux résultats obtenus par Fowler (l981:3l3-323) et la typologie qu'il a proposée.

UNE ÉTUDE DE PROFILS: Tableau

Les INTÉGRÉS	Les CONVENTIONNELS	Les FRAGMENTÉS	Les DÉCROCHÉS
-Vision enracinée dans l'héritage chrétien -Cohérence entre foi, valeurs et morale -La foi : un choix personnel critique -Une façon d'être et un projet : Engagement -Vers la **maturité spirituelle**	-La "religion tranquille" -Religion = "Code moral" -Foi peu définie -Priorité à l'Institution -Pratique religieuse -Place à certains engagements -Entre **l'indifférence et une foi significative**	-La "religion à la carte" -Voyage dans l'univers des croyances... relativisées -Forte assise "psy" -De la "quête de Dieu" à la "quête du moi" -Identité Chrétienne confuse -Entre **l'indifférence et l recherche**	-La célébration de l'humain sans Dieu -Humanisme scientifique -Refus de la pensée symbolique -Une "spiritualité" sans religion et sans Dieu -Entre **l'indifférence et l'athéisme**

Les Conventionnels : On retrouve ici les adeptes de la "religion tranquille". Ils constituent la majorité des jeunes adultes interrogés. 49,8 % tombent dans cette catégorie, soit 84 sur l67. 51,6 % de toutes les femmes se retrouvent ici contre 40 % des hommes. Ils ont en moyenne 25 ans. La continuité par rapport à la religion de leur enfance est caractéristique de leur expérience spirituelle ; une expérience qui rejette les questionnements par conviction chez quelques-uns, mais pour bien d'autres semble t-il, beaucoup plus par indifférence.

Les fragmentés : Ce profil est l'indicateur le plus significatif de la sensibilité religieuse de notre époque. L'expérience spirituelle ici puise à la fois à des sources religieuses diverses et à des courants de la psychologie moderne. 37,3 % de tous les répondants sont dans cette catégorie soit 62 sur le groupe total. Ils sont jeunes, 22 et 23 ans pour la pluspart. La répartition par sexe est presque égale : 36 % de femmes, 40 % d' hommes. Cette expérience spirituelle diffuse et parfois confuse s'approvisionne au supermarché du religieux. Elle s'inscrit dans le mouvement populaire des consommateurs de la "religion à la carte" et aboutit à une foi fragmentée.

Les Décrochés : Ce profil regroupe les quelque 4,8 % de tous les répondants, soit 8 individus dont l'expérience "spirituelle" est axée sur l'humanisme scientifique et la psychologie, sans ouverture réelle au divin ou à la transcendance. Femmes et hommes sont en nombre égale. Ces individus font foi en l'humain, en sa capacité de se réaliser par ses propres forces. Ils sont de ceux qui croient que la personne peut trouver en son propre centre l'inspiration et l'énergie nécessaire pour se réaliser pleinement et donner un sens à sa vie. Si la référence à Dieu, en temps que moteur ou énergie première n'est pas nécessairement niée, il reste que l'idée d'un Dieu personnel est perçue sinon déclarée comme non pertinente. Le "salut de l'humanité" passe par d'autres chemins que celui de Dieu et de la religion.

6. DISCUSSION ET CONCLUSION

L'hypothèse de départ était que les jeunes adultes de notre époque établissent un lien étroit entre le développement de leur personnalité et leur expérience spirituelle. La recherche en a confirmé le bien-fondé. On s'est aperçu aussi que leur perception du spirituel s'écartait peu des définitions que l'on retrouve au long des années et l'on pourrait dire au long des siècles, émanant de la théologie, de la philosophie et plus récemment de la psychologie et de la sociologie.

Ces définitions ont ceci en commun, qu'elles renvoient toutes à l'intériorité de l'être, là où chacun tente de se définir, de trouver un sens à sa vie et à la limite, d'éclairer son propre mystère en rapport à une valeur supérieure ou au divin auquel il se mesure.

Si la perception qu'ont les jeunes adultes du spirituel correspond pour l'essentiel à la définition classique, par contre la religion dans sa dimension institutionnelle qui servait d'axe principal aux générations antérieures semble avoir perdu de son importance. Avec la modernité, le pluralisme idéologique et le développement des sciences humaines, en particulier la psychologie, on assiste à une affirmation de la conscience personnelle qui s'exprime dans la multiplicité des positions arrêtées par rapport au religieux, sans supprimer par ailleurs leur caractère évolutif.

L'expérience spirituelle est constitutive de la personnalité. Elle préside à l'identité et à la quête jamais terminée de sens; elle permet à l'individu de se situer dans l'univers et de reprendre le contrôle véritable sur sa propre vie. Les questions liées à ce processus de maturation sont multiples. Comment sensibiliser l'adulte aux voies qui s'ouvrent devant lui? Comment lui fournir les outils indispensables aux discernements auxquels il va être confronté? Comment le soutenir sur une route où la croissance obéit à une loi incontournable, celle de la décentration de soi ou du dépassement? Voila un terrain stimulant à explorer dans l'étude de l'éducation des adultes.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Baum, G. (I990). Les théories de la postmodernité. *Relations*, #561, p.140.

Bell, D. (I976). *The cultural contradictions of capitalism.* New York : Basic Books.

Bellah, R. (I970). *Beyond belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-traditional world.* New York : Harper & Row.

Bellah, R. (ed.). (I985). *Habits of heart. Individualism and commitment in American Life.* Berkeley : University of California Press.

Berger, P. (I967). *The sacred canopy- Elements of a sociological theory of religion.* New York : Doubleday& Co.

Berger, P. (I969). *Rumors of angels. Modern society and the rediscovery of the supernatural.* New York : Doubleday & Co.

Berger, P. (I973). *The homeless mind. Modernization and consciousness.* New York : Random house.

Berger, P. (I979a). *The heretical imperative. Contemporary possibilities of religious affirmation.* New York : Random House.

Berger, P. (I979b). *Facing up to modernity. Excursion in society, politics and religion.* Middlesex : Doubleday.

Bergeron, R., Bouchard, A., Pelletier, P. (I992). *Le Nouvel Âge en question.* Montréal : Paulines.

Bibby, R. (I987). *Fragmented Gods. The poverty and potential of religion in Canada.* Toronto : Irwin Publishing.

Bombardier, D., & Saint-Laurent, C. (1989). *Le mal de l'âme. Essais sur le mal de vivre au temps présent.* Paris : Laffont.

Breton, J-C. (1988). Retrouver les assises anthropologiques de la vie spirituelle. *Sciences religieuses.* 17,(1).

Breton, J-C. (1992). *Pour trouver sa voie spirituelle.* Montréal : Fides.

Charron, A. (1990). Les conditions d'accès au spirituel en un temps d'indifférence religieuse. *Kerygma* 24.

Charron, A., Lemieux, R., Théroux, Y. (1992). *Croyances et incroyances au Guébec.* Montréal : Fides.

Charron, J-M. (1992). *L'âme à la dérive. Culture psychologique et sensibilité thérapeutique.* Montréal : Fides.

Desroche, H. (1968). *Sociologie religieuses.* Paris : P.U.F.

Durkheim, E. (1922). *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.* Paris : P.U.F. 7e ed. 1985.

Ellul, J. (1977). *Le système technicien.* Paris : Calmann-Levy.

Erikson, E. (1975) . Toys and reasons. E Wright, (éd.), Erikson: Identity & Religion. New York.

Ferguson, M. (1981). *Les enfants du Verseau.* Paris : Calmann Lévy. traduit de The Acquarian conspiracy, Los Angeles, Tarcher, 1978

Ferguson, M. (1990). *Book of pragmagic- Pragmatic magic for everyday living.* New York : Pocket Book.

Fowler, J. (1981). *Stages of faith. The psychology of Human development and the quest for meaning.* San Francisco : Harper & Row.

Freud, S. (1927). *Le future d'une illusion.* Paris : P.U.F.

Fromm, E. (1950). *Psychoanalysis and Religion.* New Haven : Yale Univ. Press.

Fromm, E. (1968). *The nature of man.* (Readings selected, edited and furnished with an introductory essay by Fromm and Xirau). New York : Macmillan Publishing Co.

Fromm, E. (1976). *To have or to be?* New York : Harper & Row.

Gauchet M. (1985). *Le désenchantement du monde. Une histoire politique de la religion.* Paris : Gallimard.

Gauthier, C. (1991). L'insoutenable légèreté de la pédagogie. *Revue des Sciences de l'éducation,* 27, (2), p.282-295.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of culture.* New York : Basic book.

Grossman, F. (1992). Faith and Personal Development. *Journal of Psychology and Judaism.* (1993, fevrier). Dans Networker- Adult Faith Resources. 6(1).

Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of Postmodernity.* Oxford et Cambridge : Basil Blackwell.

Jacquard, A. (1991, novembre). Entrevue menée par Gilles Farcet. Paris, *Sens Magazine* 2.

James, W. (1902). *The Varieties of religious experiences.* New York : Random House.

Jung, C. (1933-1966). *L'homme à la découverte de son âme.* Paris : Payot.

Jung, C. (1952-1984). *Religion et psychologie: une réponse à Martin Buber.* Paris : Editions de l'Herne.

Jung, C. (1963-1989). *La vie symbolique. Psychologie et vie religieuse.* Paris : Albin Michel.

Kahn, H., & Wiener A. (1972). *L'an 2000.* Paris : Marabout.

Keller, C. (1990). *New Age. Entre nouveauté et redécouverte.* Genève : Labor & Fides.

Kohlberg, L. (1975). Vers un stage 7: Science rationnelle, éthique rationnelle et foi ultime. Cambridge : Communication interne. Reproduit dans Oser, F., Gmünder P., & Ridez, L. (1991). L'homme, son développement religieux. Paris : Cerf, p. 73.

Lasch, C. (1979). *The culture of narcissism.* New York : W.W. Norton.

Lemieux, R., & Meunier, E. (1990-juin). Croyances et post-modernité. *Relations,* 561, p.144.

Lemieux, R., & Milot, M. (1992). *Les croyances au Québec.* Les cahiers de recherche en sciences de la religion, Vol. 11. Québec, Université Laval.

Lemieux, R., (1992), Histoires de vie et postmodernité religieuxe. *Les cahiers de recherche en sciences de la religion.* 11. Québec : Université Laval.

Luckmann, T. (1971). *La religion invisible.* Paris: Le Centurion.

Lyotard, J.-F. (1979). *La condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir.* Paris : Editions de Minuit.

Malherbe, M. (1990). *Les religions dans l'humanité.* Paris : Critérion.

Mander, J.(1991, decembre). What you don't know about Indians. *Utne Reader.* p. 73.

Marchand F. (1991). Aujourd'hui, quels éducateurs du <<spirituel>>? *Catéchèse.* 123. p.15, Paris.

Maslow, A. (1964). *Religions, values and peak-experiences.* New York : Penguin Books.

Maslow, A. (1967). Various meaning of transcendancy. *Journal of transpersonal psychology.* 1, p. 56-66. Reprinted in Pastoral psychology, 19 (188), p. 45-49.

Maslow, A. (1971). *The farther reaches of Human nature.* New York : Penguin.

May, R. (1953). *Man's search for himself.* New York : Signet Books.

May, R. (1962). *Psychology and the Human dilemna.* Princeton : Van Nostrand.

May, R.(1972). *Le désir d'être.* Paris : Editions de l'Épi.

Moore, T. (1993). Care of the soul. New York : Harper Collins. *Psychology today.* May/June, p. 28.

Newman, P. (1993). A spiritual link in the workplace. *Maclean's.* 12 avril, p. 28.

Rogers, C. (1970). *Le développement de la personne.* Paris : Dunod.

Schneider, S.,(1989). Spirituality in the academy. *Theological Studies.* 50 p. 684.

Taylor, C. (1992). *Grandeur et misère de la modernité.* Montréal : Bellarmin

Tillich, P. (1968). *Dynamique de la foi.* Paris : Casterman.

Turner, B. (1983). *Religion and Social Theory. A materialist perspective.* Londre : Heineman.

Turner, B. (1990). *Theories of modernity and postmodernity.* Newbury Park, CA : Sage publications.

Valadier, P. (1989). *L'Eglise en procès. Catholicisme et société moderne.* Paris : Flammarion.

Vernette, J. (1990). *Le Nouvel Age. A l'aube de l'ère du verseau.* Paris : Tequi.

Weber, M. (1920). *L'éthique protestante et l'esprit du capitalisme.* Paris : Plon.

COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION: DIVERGENT MODELS AND PRACTICES - CASE STUDIES OF TANZANIA AND SINGAPORE

Malongo R. S. Mlozi and Chan Choon Hian
The University of British Columbia

Abstract

This is a comparative study of adult education in Tanzania and Singapore. The paper highlights the divergent approaches to adult education in both countries.

Resume

Introduction

The objective of this paper is compare and contrast adult education in Tanzania and Singapore. Both countries were British colonies and attained independences in the early sixties, that is Tanzania in 1961, and Singapore in 1959. However, the two countries have followed divergent paradigms which shaped their adult education models and practices. Given that background, therefore, this research will address the question: What are the salient differences between the adult education models and practices in Tanzania and Singapore? The analysis starts with Tanzania followed by Singapore.

Tanzanian adult education

Tanzania has an area of about 945,085 square kilometres and got independence from Britain in 1961. It forms one of the East African countries with a population of about 27.5 million people. It has a per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of about US $ 290 and most people (80 percent) practise subsistence agriculture. The country has a literary rate of about 53 per cent and life expectancy is 53.7 years. All these aspects, among others, have made the country to be classified as one of the least developed countries. Tanzanian adult education can be said to have been shaped by the ideology of "ujamaa" or African socialism which came into effect after the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967. Adult education too enjoyed the patronage and support of the country's former president, Julius K. Nyerere. Nyerere (1985) argued that "Education is the right of all citizens" (p. 45). He was also influential in linking efforts of popular adult education to self-reliant economic and social development.

Profound distinctions of Tanzania and Singapore include their geographical sizes, cultural and social backgrounds, population sizes and their post-independence developments. These aspects, among others, have contributed to shape each country's adult education models and practices. Adult education in Tanzania has espoused a radical humanist way - emphasis being on the masses to produce crops and livestock for export and home consumption. This education has largely been a response of four aspects. First, the socioeconomic characteristics of the country - the need of the country to educate the masses and be able to produce cash crops and attain self-sufficiency in food. Second, to raise the literacy rate of the people engaged in agriculture production so they can improve production. Third, to educate people so they can take part in the political discourse of the nation. To further underscore this, in 1969 Nyerere (1975) maintained that "The third objective of adult education must be to have every one understand our national policies of

Socialism and self reliance (p. 3). This later became evidenced by the omnipresent mass education campaigns, functional literacy, workers' education and post-literacy programmes. Fourth, to educate people employed in managerial, commercial, business, and other sectors so they can be efficient and more productive.

Given these four aspects, adult educators in Tanzania have employed the critical social theory. Embedded in the African socialism ethos, adult education is defined in terms of its concern to develop a sociology of radical change from a subjectivist ontology. Adult education in Tanzania has tended to be nominalist, anti-positivist, voluntarist and ideographic. It has had a strong political influence in its model and practice. Here adult education has been to change the cognition and consciousness of the lives of most adults through the literacy programmes. These programmes are called "functional literacy", that is, adults learn what they can immediately apply in their lives.

Agriculture in Tanzania is the backbone of the economy. A discussion of one of an adult education agencies, that is agricultural extension, will be provided. Agricultural extension in this context is defined as that organized governmental function which deliberately imparts skills and knowledge concerning crops and livestock to farmers so they will increase production. Agricultural extension is an educational process with a dual goal: it brings information and technology to farmers and teaches them how to use it to improve their productivity; and it enables farmers to specify their own needs and provide feedback on the effectiveness of extension in meeting them (Saito and Weidemann, 1990, p. 1). The field of agricultural extension is closely associated to adult education theory and practice. The main function of agricultural extension in Tanzania is generally thought to be the transfer through nonformal educational means of technical (the how to do) knowledge to agriculture and the enhancement of rural development. The ultimate rationale has been to increase agricultural production (crops and animals), the wealth of the rural people but also to significantly improve the foreign reserves of the country.

Unlike in Singapore, agricultural extension in Tanzania is headed by a fully fledged Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Cooperative Development (MALCD). This ministry is charged with the broader context of agricultural development goals and the overall direction of the country's development objectives and strategy. To carry out these responsibilities, agricultural extension has been locally and internationally strengthened for it to shoulder the economic development of the country. So, unlike the ubiquitous rhetorics, agricultural extension is politicized in that it is required to implement the overall government policies. Government policy makers are being called upon to formulate strategies for agricultural development which include the advancement of technology systems and the design of national arrangement for agricultural extension development (Rivera, Gustafson and Corning, 1991, p. 64).

In some respect the Tanzania agricultural extension educational efforts shares similar premises with those found in Singapore. For example the Tanzania agricultural extension is hierarchical, structured, deterministic and top-down oriented. There is a wide spread lack of farmer involvement to plan educational programmes to effect changes. A bottom-up approach to planning is normally met with resistance by those at the government helm. We can further understand this if we consider agricultural extension from two level perspectives. On one hand is the macro-level which includes government officials and Party bureaucrats who overseer the agricultural extension services. To most of these people agricultural extension is thought of as a one-way, technical, objective, transmittal process of information. If farmers do not produce enough crops, a scapegoat is needed. In this case the agricultural extension service is to be blamed. On the other hand, the micro-level includes variables that concerns the broader context and government infrastructure within which agricultural extension workers must operate. The micro-level variables are those that pertain to the functioning of government and nongovernmental agencies that could enhance the quality of extension "on the ground." In essence, all levels impinge upon agricultural extension workers to transmit information about agriculture to farmers.

Mlozi (1992) has observed a growing willingness of agricultural extension service agents to offer more information to the elite in urban centres. This trend possibly exists in rural areas too, where the well-off farmers have more excess to agricultural extension advice. Also the liberal agricultural extension offered to the elite is gaining a stronghold in Tanzanian urban centres where people are involved in urban agriculture. This is exacerbated by recently introduced policies of economic liberation, democratization, privatization and political pluralism, which seemingly espouses policies of individualism. Since 1985, one clear aspect evidenced in the country is that the enrollment in adult education classes has dropped and as the cost of living has soared, adult educators who used to be volunteers have vanished. Even those adult educators (especially in urban centres) who are public employees sometimes do demand payments (here referred to as "consultancies") for services rendered to farmers.

The next section discusses adult education of Singapore.

Singapore adult education

Singapore is an island city-state located on the southern tip of continental Southeast Asia, and occupies 610 square kilometers of land. It was a former British colony (1819-1959) and attained its independence in 1965 after an uneasy two years as part of the newly created nation of Malaysia. Singapore is devoid of natural resources and has a population of 2.9 million people. Since 1959, the industrial policy of the People's Action Party's government has included the development of human resource as its key component for economic development.

Chan (1990) observed that investment in human resource is of paramount importance to Singapore for the following reasons:

1. Singapore's chief resource is its human resource, and the entire economy is dependent on the proper management and utilization of this resource.
2. Singapore is a small export-based economy which depends on its efficient and effective utilization of input resources to produce goods and services (such as banking and tourism) that are competitive on the international market.
3. Singapore is constrained by a relatively small workforce (1.5 million in 1992), and must increasingly rely on technology to bring about higher labor productivity. The economic restructuring policy introduced in 1979 was, and still is, directed at reducing dependence on labor-intensive industries.

Singapore's strategy of developing its human resource has been guided by the modernisation-human capital theory. Proponents of this theory generally hold the assumption that more educated workers are more productive, and that there is a positive correlation between education and earnings. The task of educational reform is thus to facilitate investment in personal development and to produce better educated and trained workers within the context of the existing educational and moral systems. Human capital theory which fits well within a functionalist society focuses primarily on the objective of socializing young people in the skills and moral commitment necessary for them to take over adult roles within the social system. The goal is to ensure the continuity of the system. Functionalists define equality of opportunity primarily in terms of meritocracy. In these terms, the desired outcome of education is that the more able and motivated students are allocated to the more difficult and important social roles (Hale, 1990).

Singapore is a meritocratic society. Its free market economy system rewards individuals according to their contributions. State policies often emphasize rationality and economic efficiency, and require the population to make "uncomfortable adjustments" which bring results only in the long run. Such an ideology is consistent with the human-capital theory which generally assumes social consensus concerning the national ideology, the legitimacy of the social hierarchy, and the allocation of rewards and resources. The objective of Singapore education thus reflects facets of functionalism and human capitalism. The former Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew (1979) articulated that the objective of education "is to educate a child to bring out his greatest potential, so that he will grow up into a good man and a useful citizen (p. iii)." Embodied in this broad objective are the progressive-instrumentalist notions and Confucian values of education. The ideology of progressivism stresses the needs, aspirations, and development of either individuals or communities. Instrumentalism stresses utility and relevance to the existing social and economic order, which may itself be static to change. Finally, Confucism stresses moral development and citizenship.

Tay (1989) outlines three concepts arising from Lee's educational objective. The first key notion deals with the developmental aspect of education, that is, to bring out the full potential of an individual. As Singapore is devoid of any natural resources, education becomes one of the means to prepare people for the labor market, that is, employment. The second concept pertains to the moral characterization and development of the individual. The notion of a "good person" implies a state of moral dignity, responsibility, civic-mindedness and social conformity. These moral qualities or standards are deemed necessary for individuals to play their parts in society and to be responsible members. Through the collective action of good citizens, society would be more disciplined and stability could be maintained. The third and last concept which stems from the notion of good man is citizenship. The key word here is to be "useful" which implies to be utilized and functional. Here the aim of education is to produce a useful citizen who has the ability to contribute financially and economically to herself/himself, the family, his/her employer and thereby to the nation (Tay, 1989).

Lee's educational objective has influenced the educational planning and policies, including adult education. What emerged from this objective is that curricula for schools and training institutions tend to follow the classical model. The classical model of curriculum according to Lawson (1973) is characterized by elements of subject-centered, skills, transmittal instruction, banking concept of knowledge, obedience, conformity and discipline. The objective of the curriculum is to acquire knowledge, and the content focuses on subject matter to be learned. Teaching method tends to be teacher-centered, and evaluation is strictly based on examinations administrated by a publicly approved agency. The objective of adult education and training is to promote efficiency, and is manifested on two levels. The first is the organizational or institutional level where adult education and training is conducted to enhance individual performance as a means toward increasing organizational effectiveness. In-house training, Basic Education for Skills Training (BEST), quality circle training, and apprenticeship, are some of the examples.

Adult education and training is also used to promote productivity at the societal level. At this level, human capital theory comes to the fore and is used to justify public subsidy of adult education and training programs that enhance the productivity of the general economy. The logic of human capital theory is that human skills and knowledge attained through training and education are vital to economic growth. Harbinson (1973) argues that development of human resource should focus on a two-pronged strategy designed to maximize the skill and knowledge (through training) and the effective utilization (through the creation of jobs) of this resource. He claimed that if these goals are pursued, then others such as economic growth, higher levels of living, and more equitable distribution of income are thought to be the likely consequences. Clearly, Singapore's adult education and training programs and policies are directed towards these goals. Duke (1989) in his survey analysis of continuing education in Southeast Asian countries observed that the provision of adult education in Singapore had a strong emphasis to be functional and on acquisition of knowledge and skills for employment.

Education is the handmaiden of industrialism and economic growth for Singapore. It is regarded as the means to ensure the survival of the nation as well as its economic well-being. Singaporeans are constantly exhorted by their political leaders to upgrade their skills and improve their education in order for them to stay ahead in their professions and to maintain Singapore's competitive edge in the international economy. The point was succinctly expressed by the Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong (1989) in the following words: "Anyone who stops learning after school or graduating is committing occupational suicide." The primary concern of manpower policy has been the creation of a skilled and adaptable workforce capable of absorbing new knowledge and skills and applying them as efficiently as possible in the production and delivery of goods and services. The goal is to make Singapore an efficient economy capable of attaining high economic performance. Education ideology and policy-making will continue to be biased by the progressivism, Confucianism and human capitalism. These ideological elements reconcile perfectly well with a functionalist society with its emphasis on development, order and harmony.

Since 1959, Singapore has an integrated manpower policy which is tied directly to the educational and vocational planning. In the initial years of political independence, Singapore educational planners had primarily focussed on the formal education of the children. As these children become adults, the emphasis is toward better education and training to fit in the workforce. As Singapore achieves the status of an industrialized country, the emphasis on education and training becomes more crucial. Singapore needs a pool of educated, trained and dedicated manpower to compete effectively with other Western economies. To achieve this, the State has to provide more places in the vocational institutes, polytechnics and universities to meet the growing education appetite. Such a demand will inevitably push the educational cost upwards, and the State will have to balance between being accessible and affordable.

Already, some tensions and frustrations have been expressed by some adults to want to improve their technical competence. They are demanding that the State provide more places in the polytechnics and universities to allow working adults to upgrade their education. To meet the growing demand for higher education and training, the State is presently studying the feasibility of setting up an open university. However, one concern is that such a system should not compromise on the quality of education and training. A policy to enlarge the higher and continuing education base reflects the State's commitment to create a large reservoir of professionals to meet the ever-changing demands of a modern technological society. In the coming years, human resource development strategy will continue to focus on the following main areas: (1) provide maximum formal education and training opportunities to the young before they join the workforce. (2) upgrade those already in the workforce, usually in skills which are relevant to the industries; and (3) ensure that the workforce possesses more flexible, creative and high value-added skills.

Conclusions

Adult education in Tanzania and Singapore differs in models and practices. Tanzanian adult education has been shaped by its agrarian based economy while that of Singapore is largely a result of its small, industrial and export based economy. However, in both countries adult education has not escaped from the government involvement through their respective national policies which are implemented by various government institutions, agencies and departments. This comparison further attests to Freire's (1972) notion that education in any setting cannot be neutral. This research further points to a salient landmark that adult education in most countries is shaped by their policies, among other aspects, which educators need to heed. Internationally, this shows that one country's adult education programmes cannot be wholly imposed on another country because of the aforementioned differences which are sometimes thwarted and ignored by foreign adult educators.

References

Chan, C. H. (1990). Industrial Strategy and Worker Training: A Singapore perspective. Adult Education and Development. 35, 43-52.

Duke, C. (1989). Provision in Southeast Asia. In Titmus, C. J. (Ed). Lifelong Education for Adults: An International Handbook (pp. 442-446). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Freire, P. (1972). Pedagogy of the oppressed. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Hale, S. M. (1990). Controversies in Sociology: A Canadian Introduction. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman.

Harbinson, F. H. (1973). Human Resources As the Wealth of Nations. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lawson (1973). Cited in Jarvis, P. (1983). Adult and Continuing Education: Theory and Practice. London: Croom Helm.

Lee, K. Y. (1979). Preface. Report of the Ministry of Education. Singapore.

Mlozi, M. R. S. (1992). Development of urban agriculture through unethical agricultural extension services: A case of Tanzania. In M. Taylor & R. Bedard (Eds.), Proceeding of the 11th Annual Conference of Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (pp. 251-256). Saskatoon, College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Canada.

Nyerere, J. K. (1985). Education in Tanzania. Harvard Educational Review, 55(1), February, 45-52.

Nyerere, J. K. (1975). NAEAT.

Tay, E. S. (1989). The Means and Ends of Education. Commentary. No 1 & 2, 4-12.

Rivera, W. M., Gustafson, D. J. & D. J. Corning S. (1991). Policy options in developing agricultural extension systems: A framework analysis. International Journal of Lifelong Education, 10(1), 61-74.

Saito, K. A. & Weidemann, C. J. (1990). Agricultural extension for women farmers in Africa. World Bank Discussion Paper No. 103. The World Bank: Washington, D.C.

Straits Times, January 29, 1989, Singapore.

L'ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES EN MUTATION.

THÉRÈSE MORIN, Université du Québec à Rimouski, Sciences de l'Éducation.
(418) 739-3916; Télécopieur: (418) 724-1841.

Résumé: Comme le note Capra (1983), un changement de paradigme est actuellement en cours, entraînant des transformations sociales majeures débouchant sur une nouvelle société (Bell 1976; Masuda 1981 et Naisbitt 1982). L'éducation des adultes est aussi fortement sollicitée. Notre hypothèse est que la discipline est en recouvellement de l'intérieur, le paradigme émergent entraîne des pratiques différentes.

Abstract: As noted by Capra (1983), a shift of paradigm is on the way. Social changes do bring up a new society (Bell 1976; Masuda 1981 and Naisbitt 1982). Adult Education is also strongly questionned. Our hypothesis is that the discipline is in a deep, internal renewal. The emerging paradigm brings different practices.

Le changement de société a été étudié et confirmé par de nombreux auteurs dont Rosnay (1975), Bell (1976), Masuda (1981), Naisbitt (1982), Lesourne (1988), parmi d'autres. Les bouleversements atteignent une ampleur telle, que l'on affirme l'émergence d'une nouvelle vision du monde issue de la physique moderne (Capra 1983, E. Morin 1986, 1988, 1990 et 1991). Par ricochet, celle-ci interagit sur les disciplines diverses qui sont secouées par des idées nouvelles. L'éducation des adultes, de par sa fonction sociale, en reçoit les contrecoups.

L'objectif de cette communication est de montrer qu'une vision est aussi en émergence en Éducation des adultes, elle prend forme à partir d'expériences et d'interventions connues, mais marginales. Nous avons présenté l'hypothèse d'un renouvellement de la discipline sur la base d'un changement de paradigme (Morin T. 1992). Notre recherche a été menée à partir de la proposition présentée au Club de Rome en 1979 dans un rapport sur le devenir de l'éducation. Botkin, Elmandjra, Malitza (1980) dans **On ne finit jamais d'apprendre: le fossé humain à combler**, décrivent le contexte actuel où la situation mondiale est si cahotique que des changements majeurs sont nécessaires afin d'assurer la survie de l'humanité. Ils affirment la nécessité d'apporter un complément à l'apprentissage conservateur, qui est la transmission des connaissances d'une génération à l'autre, par l'Apprentissage Innovateur, axée sur la personne avec l'anticipation et la participation comme caractéristiques principales.

Trois critères ont été à la base du choix des approches dans les écrits. C'est la présence 1) d'un déplacement repérable de polarité du contenu à l'apprenant, 2) d'une vision implicite ou explicite du monde, de l'apprenant et de l'apprentissage,

3) de stratégies d'interventions éducatives spécifiques. Quatre approches ont été retenues: l'autodidadaxie, l'apprentissage expérientiel, la conscientisation et l'approche à l'auto-organisation. Ils ont permis l'émergence d'un apprentissage renouvelé dont les contours se sont graduellement spécifiés, puis ont été enrichis à l'aide de recherches plus récentes. Dans la foulée du Club de Rome, cette forme fut appelée temporairement l'Apprentissage Innovateur. Nous présentons brièvement les apports de trois premières avant de détailler davantage la dernière.

L'autodidaxie.

Bien que cette approche éducative n'ait été étudiée que vers les années 1960, ses racines plongent très loin dans l'histoire de l'humanité. Son évolution, en deux phases, a été présentée ailleurs (Morin, 1992). Une première que nous appelons "technique" avec Tough (1971, 1977), Knowles (1975), Serre (1978). La seconde apparaît en émergence dans les écrits des années 80. Nous en avons retenu des pistes de décrites par Theil (1984), Danis et Tremblay (1985), Brookfield (1988) et Brockett et Hiemstra (1991). Au centre, se trouve l'apprenant qui est le maître d'oeuvre de son projet, c'est la base avec la responsabilité et la confiance en soi. Ses caractéristiques majeures sont, entre autre, l'origine interne de la formation, (exigences personnelles ou professionnelles, manque à combler), des processus multiples d'apprentissage, une planification très souple et une capacité à saisir l'opportunité de notions pertinentes reliées à son domaine.

Il en résulte un changement profond dans le rapport au savoir et à l'institution éducative. Danis et al. se demandent si cette apparente contradiction avec le mode technique d'autodidaxie, revélée par leur propre recherche ne manifeste pas davantage "l'indice de la complexité encore inexplorée de processus multiples d'apprentissage adulte" (1985:435). Cette approche apparaît étroitement liée à la croissance personnelle de la personne, qui se trouve changée à travers le processus. Brockett et al. (1991:16) affirment que "l'autodidaxie est un mode de vie", montrant ainsi l'intégration perceptible chez l'individu utilisant ce mode d'apprentissage. La vision du monde sans être spécifique, montre des individus automomes. Des stratégies spécifiques d'intervention ont été dégagées.

L'apprentissage expérientiel.

L'apprentissage expérientiel n'est pas une notion nouvelle. En effet, dans les sociétés traditionnelles, les jeunes étaient ainsi introduits aux métiers et aux arts de la communauté par les adultes, pensons aux compagnons du Moyen Âge. Par la suite, un fossé s'est créé entre les connaissances rationnelles et les connaissances pratiques, écart toujours actuel. Les limites de la formation expérientielle sont apparues pendant la révolution industrielle où, pour satisfaire les exigences des transformations techniques, les employeurs se mirent à alphabétiser leurs travailleurs (Landry 1989).

Dewey (1916) a démontré l'importance de l'expérience pour l'apprentissage chez l'enfant. Un courant éducatif est apparu aux Etats-Unis vers les années 30. Récupérée pour l'adulte par Lindeman (1926), la formation expérientielle a suscité un nouvel intérêt dans divers milieux; la recherche a pris son essor vers les années 60. Notre survol de l'apprentissage expérientiel (Morin 1992) laisse voir un foisonnement, une complexité, un éclatement multidirectionnel. Deux pistes majeures marquent son évolution: une formation pratique et professionnelle (Kolb 1974, 1976); la seconde, une formation expérientielle, ou autoformation.

Nous avons retenu la piste développée par Rogers (1972); elle est axée sur le vécu personnel et l'expérience intérieure. Courtois (1989:9) y voit *une occasion donnée à l'adulte de travailler à sa forme dans ses différentes dimensions.* Pour Rogers, elle implique d'abord un **engagement personnel,** dans laquelle est sollicitée la personne toute entière. Puis, une **initiative de l'apprenti,** même si "l'élan" vient de l'extérieur, la réaction d'acceuil jaillit néanmoins de l'intérieur. Enfin, c'est un **apprentissage en profondeur** qui apporte alors des changements intérieurs que seul l'apprenant peut apprécier. La relation éducative romp avec la démarche usuelle; l'apprenant est responsable de son projet de formation, le facilitateur, au service des objectifs d'apprentissage de l'adulte. La personne est vue comme unique; l'apprentissage est alors un moyen de croissance personnelle et d'épanouissement global. Des pratiques reliées à la vision émergente ont été repérées et décrites.

L'approche à la conscientisation.

L'approche à la conscientisation ou éducation politique, s'est développée en Amérique du Sud où son auteur Freire (1974), a élaboré graduellement ses méthodes d'alphabétisatiion avec les paysans opprimés. Il a réagi à un mode éducatif statique et inadéquat, appelé **bancaire**. Il a construit une approche consientisante et libératrice. Centrée sur l'individu, mais dans une interaction continuelle avec le groupe, sa démarche s'appuie sur le processus de la conscientisation. L'individu expérimente le réel, tout en étant acritique par rapport aux événements, la conscientisation sera *le développement critique de cette prise de conscience (**Education...** p. 59).* L'outil majeur pour faciliter l'éveil d'une conscience critique est la **praxis,** qui est l'action conjugée avec la réflexion, la conscientisation ne peut *exister en dehors de la praxis, soit en dehors de l'acte « action/réflexion ».* Elle est aussi **engagement historique** en ce sens qu'elle est *insertion citique dans les événements* de la vie courante, produisant la **démythologisation** qui permet ensuite de *prendre possession de la réalité (**Ib.**:23).*

Nous avons aussi retenu la vision de la relation éducative est transformée. Pour Freire, le formateur est tantôt éducateur, tantôt éduqué; parallèlement l'éduqué devient parfois éducateur et apprenant. Le coeur de cette relation est l'échange, le partage d'expérience humaine dans un climat de coopération, une relation horizontale où l'information circule, où chacun peut s'approprier les notions nécessaires à la progression de sa compréhension de son vécu et du monde. Existe alors un réel dialogue. Alors que l'autodidaxie et l'apprentissage expérientiel de Rogers étaient centrés sur l'individu, la démarche de Freire a comme centre un volet collectif. *Personne ne libère autrui, affirme-t-il, personne ne se libère seul, les hommes se libèrent ensemble (Pédagogie...: 44).* Un lien s'établit aussi avec l'apprentissage sociétal du Club de Rome. Les pratiques éducatives existent, bien que peu nombreuses dans nos milieux.

L'approche à la complexité et à l'auto-organisation.

La complexité nous entoure partout, elle découle désormais de l'activité humaine, c'est *la complexité au second degré* (Botkin et al. (1980); elle représente un véritable défi. La faire pénétrer dans les situations d'apprentissage n'est pas un mince objectif, car la complexité n'est devenue que récemment un objet d'étude et de recherche (Altan 1991). Cette réflexion nous a conduit à un constat d'impossibilité: la complexité étant un processus ne peut être qu'une voie vers autre chose, aussi nous sommes-nous laissés porter par cette piste vers le phénomène de l'organisation et de l'auto-organisation.

L'historique montre que l'auto-organisation est apparue au carrefour des idées de plusieurs disciplines (Morin 1992). Une excellente introduction en a été faite par Edgard Morin (1977) dans **La Méthode I: La nature de la nature**. Dans l'optique éducative, Varela (1989) explique les aspects techniques, l'équipement biologique pour ainsi dire, qui permet l'apprentissage. Altan (1979) envisage, avec d'autres mots, la description des structures qui transforme par le bruit en complexité. Theil (1989) distingue trois éléments dans le modèle d'auto-éco-organisation de Varela, soit un système auto-référentiel, un éco-environnement aléatoire et des interactions réciproques. Dans l'acte l'apprentissage, il s'agit de comprendre comment le vivant crée de l'information à partir d'un environnement aléatoire. Alors que l'éducation formelle crée un environnement volontairement conçu pour être éducatif, l'apprenant autonome se meut dans un environnement indifférent, souvent hostile. Car, affirme Morin (1980), *l'environnement n'émet pas d'informations à destination d'un être vivant et n'apporte pas les informations mais les conditions d'extraction de l'information (p. 194)*. C'est pourquoi, selon Theil, l'apprenant doit *simultanément in-former des événements de son contexte d'apprentissage en informations pertinentes et les transformer en informations significatives (p. 306)*. En d'autres termes, l'adulte puise des informations neutres et leur donne une signification qui lui est propre, en lien avec ses intérêts immédiats ou potentiels d'apprentissage. La personne devient la créatrice de son monde.

Conclusion.

L'hypothèse d'un renouvellement de paradigme en Éducation des adultes semble en voie de confirmation; la recherche doit, bien sûr, être poursuivie. Il s'appuie sur le renouvellement de paradigme apporté dans les sciences de la nature par la nouvelle physique (Capra 1983). Dans les quelques approches décrites, nous avons mis en lumière les éléments constitutifs d'un apprentissage renouvelé, montrant ainsi son enracinement dans la réalité contemporaine. L'apprenant est au coeur du modèle, avec ses éléments constitutifs: caractéristiques individuelles, valeurs, interactions sociales et modes d'apprentissage. Cette personne est située dans un environnement où il existe des structures spécifiques pour l'apprentissage avec des finalités et des pratiques spécifiques, le tout dans un contexte en évolution. Les interactions entre chacune de ces parties sont primordiales et constantes. Ses principales caractéristiques s'apparentent à celle que le Club de Rome mettait de l'avant, soit l'anticipation et la participation. La finalité est le développement global de l'apprenant en lien avec une société de plus en plus démocratique.

Le changement de paradigme se vérifie dans le concret de formation hors cadre. Des pratiques sont déjà repérables sur le terrain, elles sont en rupture avec le mode dominant, mécaniste et scolarisant. Elles permettent d'envisager des activités éducatives d'un genre différent.

RÉFÉRENCES

ATLAN Henri, **Entre le cristal et la fumée**, Paris, 1979, Points, Seuil, 290 pages.

BOTKIN J., ELMANDJRA M., MALITZA M, **On ne finit jamais d'apprendre: le fossé humain à combler**, Paris, 1980, Pergamon Press, 179 pages.

BROCKETT R.G., HIEMSTRA R., **Self-direction in Adult Learning: Perspectives on theory, research, and practice**, New York, 1991, Routledge, 276 pages.

CAPRA Fritjof, **Le temps du changement**, Monaco, 1983, Ed. du Rocher, 409 pages.

CHICKERING A.W., **Experience and Learning. An introduction to experimental Learning**, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1977, Change Magazine Press.

DANIS Claudia et TREMBLAY Nicole, *Principes d'apprentissage des adultes et autodidaxie*, **Revue des Sciences de l'Éducation**, Volume XI, No 3, 1985, p. 421-440.

DEWEY John, **Expérience et éducation**, Paris, 1947, Ed. Bourrelier, 95 pages.

FREIRE Paolo, **Pédagogie des opprimés**, Paris, 1974, Maspéro, 202 pages.

FREIRE Paolo, **Éducation: pratique de la liberté**, Paris, 1978, Cerf, 4e édition.

KEETON M.T. et al., **Experiential Learning: Rationale, characteristics and assessment**, San Francisco, 1977, Jossey-Bass.

KOLB D.A., **Experiential Learning experience as the source of Learning and development**, Englewood Cliffs (N.J.), 1984, Prentice-Hall.

LANDRY Francine, *La formation expérientielle: origines, définitions et tendances*, in **Éducation permanente**, No 100/101, Décembre 1989, p. 13-22.

LESOURNE Jacques, **Éducation et Société, les défis de l'an 2000**, Paris, 1988, Ed. Le monde/La découverte, 357 pages.

MORIN Edgar, **La Méthode I: La nature de la nature**, Paris, 1980, Points, Seuil, 410 pages.

MORIN Edgar, **La Méthode II: La vie de la vie**, Paris, 1980, Points, Seuil, 482 pages.

MORIN Edgar, **Introduction à la pensée complexe**, Paris, 1990, ESF Éd., 158 pages.

MORIN Edgar, BOCCHI Gianluca, CERUTTI Mauro, **Un nouveau commencement**, Paris, 1991, Seuil, 220 pages.

MORIN Thérèse, **L'Apprentissage Innovateur: un paradigme émergent en Éducation des Adultes**, Montréal, 1992, Thèse de doctorat, inédite, Faculté des Sciences de l'Éducation, Université de Montréal, 289 pages.

NAISBITT J. **Les dix commandements de l'Avenir**, Paris/Montréal, 1984, Sand/Primeur, 347 pages.

ROGERS Carl, **Le développement de la personne**, Paris, 1968, Dunod, 287 p.

ROSNAY Joël de, **Le macroscope, vers une vision globale**, Paris, 1975, Points, Seuil, 313 pages.

THEIL J.P., *La situation autodidactique comme situation d'auto-éco-organisation*, in BEDARD René, **Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education**, Guelph (Ont.), 1989, Ed. Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, p. 304-310.

TOUGH Allen, **The Adults's Learning Projects: A Fresh Approach to Theory and Practice in Adult Learning**,

VARELA F., **Autonomie et connaissance**, Paris,1989, Seuil, 254 pages.

From Preacher To Politician: T.C. Douglas' Transition

Jan (John) Oussoren
University Extension, University of Regina

Abstract: The transition of T. C. (Tommy) Douglas from preacher to politician is the focus of a recently completed psychohistorical Ed.D. dissertation. Douglas' dramatic psychological change, resulting from his July 1931 preliminary Ph.D. studies in Chicago, and the related implications for adult education theory and practice are highlighted.

Resume: La transition de T. C. (Tommy) Douglas de prédicateur à politicien est l'objet d'une dissertation psychologique récemment complètée. Le changement pschologique et dramatique de Douglas consécutif à ses études de doctorat à Chicago en juillet 1931 et la portée ayant rapport à l'éducation aux adultes sont ici présentés et décrits.

Introduction

This paper provides an overview of research completed and uses five subheadings: 1. introduction; 2. research statement and design; 3. relevant literature; 4. historical narrative and analysis; 5. conclusions and implications for adult education.

Thomas Clement Douglas was born in Falkirk, Scotland, on October 20, 1904, came to Canada in 1911, returned to Scotland in 1915, and came back to Winnipeg in 1918. He died in Ottawa on February 24, 1986. For most of his nearly 82 years, he lived in Canada -- in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Ontario. Douglas became a Baptist minister after six years of undergraduate and theological education at Brandon College, Manitoba. He worked his way through college and seminary by serving for six years as a student-minister in four different pastoral charges, encompassing six communities, in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.1 Douglas was called in 1930 to serve Calvary Baptist Church, Weyburn, and Stoughton's Baptist congregation - both in Saskatchewan. He started his Master of Arts and preliminary Doctor of Philosophy studies during this period, completing the former in Sociology in 1933. He changed from Baptist preacher to Christian socialist politician during the 1930 - 1935 Depression years. He was defeated as a Farmer-Labor Party candidate in the Saskatchewan provincial election in 1934, and elected as Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) member of the House of Commons in 1935, returning to Saskatchewan in the early forties to become leader of the provincial C.C.F. Party. In 1944, he became Saskatchewan's first C.C.F. premier. Later he became the leader of the national New Democratic Party of Canada, of which the C.C.F. was the precursor, and served until his retirement in 1971.2

Research statement and design

The research demonstrates that in Chicago Douglas underwent a "perspective transformation" or major psychological change which influenced him throughout his life. The research design is a historical narrative and descriptive case study which has used eight biographical works of T.C. Douglas - McLeod and McLeod, Thomas, Falconer, Shackleton, Lovick, Tyre, Higginbotham and Bradley - to focus on two primary historical and geographic episodes, Chicago and Weyburn, and two lesser ones, Scotland-Winnipeg and Brandon, during Douglas' early life, the 1904 to 1935 period.

Relevant literature

In view of the fact that two major academic fields were involved in this psychohistorical thesis, two literature reviews were conducted. A review of the historical resources dealt with Douglas' early life, 1904 to 1935. Eight biographical works have been examined and used to create a historical synthesis. These works are supplemented by a second source of primary material collected by means of two survey instruments, a questionnaire and supplementary telephone interviews with the fourteen Canadian people chosen during January and February 1990, using a snowball survey sample. The respondents were chosen on the basis of their degree of affinity with Douglas. There was an 86 per cent response rate.

The second literature review represents selected developmental psychological theories which have been reviewed with the goal of finding the one that is most appropriate to understanding and explicating the chronicle of Douglas' early life and particularly his transition in Chicago. The theoretical constructs of Erik Erikson, Daniel Levinson, Roger Gould, Bernice Neugarten, Nancy Datan, William Bridges, Nancy Schlossberg, Robert Kegan and Jack Mezirow were reviewed. After a review of developmentalist psychological thought, and transition theories, Mezirow's perspective transformation theory was chosen. He defines "perspective transformation" as follows:

> Perspective transformation involves a sequence of learning activities that begins with a disorienting dilemma and concludes with a changed self-concept that enables a reintegration into one's life context on the basis of conditions dictated by a new perspective. The sequence of transformative learning activities is not made up of invariable developmental steps; rather, the activities should be understood as "sequential moments of meaning becoming clarified."3

Mezirow maintains that individual psychocultural assumptions have to be examined, redefined or reconstructed by means of other perspectives, discourse and related personal reflection. His adult learning and transformation theory naturally fits the historical and adult education context of the thesis. His theory has a parallel in the religious language of "conversion" and agrees with Douglas' biblical and Social Gospel background. Five criteria have been drawn from Mezirow's perspective transformation theory and were applied to the historical narrative of Douglas' transition from preacher to politician.4 The application of the criteria helps to provide supplementary information and psychological insights, not further historical data. These criteria help to determine if, indeed, a perspective transformation did occur in Douglas in Chicago and, later, Weyburn.

The historical narrative

Chapters Five and Six of the thesis provide the historical synthesis from 1904, the year of Douglas' birth, to December 1935 when Douglas resigned as minister of Calvary Baptist Church in Weyburn. Chapter Five deals with the 1904 to July 1931 period, which leads up to his decision to go into the ministry, and the Chicago watershed experience, in which a major change occurred. The period in Weyburn, recorded in Chapter Six, was later described by Douglas as the "incubation period for his philosophy of social justice".5 The philosophy was translated into reality by means of a number of social and political activities in the congregation and the community.

The academic studies during July of 1931 at Chicago were part of Douglas' preliminary doctoral study requirements. He studied with Dr. Arthur

Erastus Holt, Head of the Department of Social Sciences. Under his guidance, Douglas, along with a group of other students, conducted as part of the Christian Sociology course, case history research in Chicago's hobo jungles. The case history interviews had a powerful influence upon the 26-year-old student's sense of helplessness. He began to reflect, ask questions and was determined to find some answers and solutions to the blight and poverty. He became aware of the ambiguities within Chicago society and beyond. Later, he describes how he began to question, and become alienated from, the excesses of the capitalist political economy in North America. He states:

> And as I went among them, this was the first time that I began to feel a challenge to the whole way of life of which I was a part. Here I was working with these people all day and then get up early the next morning to go and worship in the beautiful cathedral built by the Rockefeller money on the Chicago campus. And here was a sixty million dollar cathedral and I was going out all day handing out a dime, if I had one, to some fellow so he could get something to eat. And I thought, there is something wrong here. Here is the richest country in the world and twenty million people walking the streets. People starving when up in Canada, where I come from, we can't get rid of the wheat. And in British Columbia the farmers can't get rid of their apples. There is something crazy about a system like this, it's not only uneconomic, it's insane and unchristian. That made me think first of all.6

Summary analysis of the data

Chapter Seven applies Mezirow's interpretive lens to the historical synthesis and foundational narrative of Douglas' transition during the Chicago and Weyburn period, 1931 to 1935. Five criteria were applied to Douglas' transition as recorded in the narrative found in Chapters Five and Six. The criteria emerged from Mezirow's transformation theory as described above. They supplement the historical data by offering insights determining whether Douglas indeed experienced a perspective transformation during the Chicago and Weyburn days.

Criterion number one states: Were the three phases of the transformation cycle - alienation, reframing, and reintegration or reconstruction - evident in Douglas' transition in Chicago and later Weyburn days? The response is that Douglas' transition can be readily described by the three classical phases of Mezirow's perspective transformation cycle. After several weeks of case history research and exposure to the overwhelming poverty and deprivation of Chicago's hoboes, Douglas became alienated from his immigrant upward mobility philosophy. The research had a powerful influence upon the 26-year-old student's feelings, ideology, convictions and sense of mission. The traumatic impact of Chicago in July, 1931, was sufficiently strong to help motivate Douglas to become, in November, 1933, a candidate for the Weyburn constituency of the provincial Farmer-Labor Party.

Criterion number two states: "Was only new information added to Douglas' existing meaning scheme or did he develop a critical consciousness in which he examined his underlying assumptions, resulting in a transformed meaning perspective?" Both occurred in Chicago. First, when Douglas took Dr. Eastman's religious drama course at the University of Chicago's Divinity School in July of 1931, he added new drama skills to his repertoire enhancing his competence as a preacher and religious educator. As a result of Dr. Erastus Holt's Christian Sociology course and case history field research assignment, Douglas developed a critical consciousness about the plight of thousands of hoboes. Douglas had been exposed to poverty in Glasgow, Winnipeg and Weyburn-Estevan, but Chicago's hobo jungle was much worse and more traumatic. Consequently, he questioned his unexamined assumptions and began to search for a third or middle way between "greedy capitalism" and "ruthless Marxism" in order to resolve the Depression's conditions on both individual and collective or contextual levels.

The third criterion raises the question of whether Douglas changed his self-concept: that is, did he become more inner-directed and, consequently, participate in society's reconstruction? Yes, Douglas changed his self-concept. Chicago significantly affected him. He had to change his personal concept from that of the successful immigrant who was achieving considerable upward mobility to one who willingly gave up three better job opportunities (the Milwaukee congregation, Strathcona Baptist Church, Edmonton, and the promise of a teaching post in Christian Ethics at the University of Chicago), in order to effectively serve the Depression's and the drought's victims.

Criterion number four: Did he take action subsequent to his relatively sudden transformation? Yes, he did. Right after Chicago, he visited the Estevan strike scene with Irma and later he spoke about it. He identified himself with the sheep as contrasted with the shearers. He allowed himself to be branded. He created a number of social action projects for people in need. He turned to political action and, finally, he gave up better pastoral and academic opportunities in order to serve as one of the few educated and trained populist leaders who could pursue political candidacy and could take on informed capitalists or communists while articulating and defending a third alternate and populist way. It can be concluded that the printer became the people's preacher and pastor in order to be transformed into the people's politician.7

Criterion number five: Did Douglas become more inclusive, differentiated, permeable or open during the Chicago and subsequent Weyburn years? The response is: Yes, he was continually looking for, and open to, the third way of providing all persons within society with basic food, shelter and clothing, education and health services, and the like. He was inclusive and open in his thoughts and not a doctrinaire or dogmatic socialist. He was more like an adult educator or preacher-politician who constantly looked for a variety of effective ways of achieving social justice objectives.

Conclusions, and implications for adult education

Essentially, the research provides a particular kind of case study and historical narrative of one person based on a synthesis of eight biographical works and related sources. In addition, supplementary comments and insights have been derived from the application of Mezirow's theory to Douglas' transition. The findings in this single case study are historical, descriptive, and anecdotal but not empirical. The writer, therefore, is not able to generalize from the findings.

The research has historically documented Douglas' transition from preacher to politician in Chicago and Weyburn. The researcher concludes that this transition was the result of cumulative experiences in his early life plus a major perceptual shift triggered by the Chicago case history research in which Douglas was engaged during his advanced studies at the University. The gradual and evolving change can be traced throughout his early life while the major shift occurred during the Chicago and subsequent Weyburn days. A vague desire to serve people and improve society via the pastoral ministry from 1924 on changed in Chicago as a result of the case history research and philosophical debates with the socialists and Marxists. Douglas' first preference was to be in the pulpit but because there were very few university-trained populist leaders in the early 1930s, he gradually allowed himself to be drawn in to responding to the needs of the people and their hopeless conditions. He not only gave up his first love, preaching, but also put his own plans for a Ph.D. "on hold" and gave up three employment opportunities to better himself.

The research also shows that Douglas' social support network was an important influence in helping him decide to run for office in 1934 and 1935 and thus complete the transition from preacher to politician. Influential persons encouraging him to enter the field of politics were his spouse, Irma Douglas; his college classmate and colleague (another printer, preacher and politician), Stanley Knowles; and especially his mentor, M.J. (Major James) Coldwell. Coldwell introduced Douglas to the Saskatchewan Farmer-Labor Party and C.C.F. influences in 1932 and 1933.

One can readily conclude about Douglas' life that the focus upon education, post-secondary education and adult education was an important dimension. Taking night school courses helped him to become a printer. The securing of a B.A. helped him to change from printer to preacher. The securing of an M.A. and preliminary Ph.D. studies helped him to move from preacher to politician. The importance of adult or continuing education throughout Douglas' life is illustrated by his own formal education; his use of immersion learning with parishioners to help raise consciousness of poverty in Weyburn; unsuccessful attempts to organize degree credit university courses for Weyburn youth during the Depression; provision of lecture series via the WILP; organizing of the Soo Line District Religious Education Council; use of drama in the Calvary Baptist Church worship services; holding of mass rallies in 1933-5 with provincial and national leaders; use of pamphlets, newspaper articles and radio broadcasts in the 1935 election; and use of the pulpit for Social Gospel messages.

The conclusions reached in this study of Douglas provide a significant contribution to the historical literature. The data uncovered in this psychohistory provide an explanation as to why, how and when Douglas became a political activist and candidate. The data are not only helpful in showing how a psychological interpretation can help explicate historical contexts and provide anecdotal data, but they also relate how, why and when one person made a transition from individualist to collectivist thinking and action. The historical narrative in Chapters Five and Six suggests several implications for adult education: the importance of the personal questions an individual brings to intensive learning situations, and, the importance of helping individuals, like Douglas, who are considering career changes, to search for congruence with their own values, moral philosophy or theology.

Another implication for adult education appears to be the critical role of informal support networks, such as family, friends and colleagues, in encouraging and helping a person who has experienced a major transition to learn to work out the implications. Without the encouragement of Stanley Knowles and Irma Douglas, Douglas might well have been, for the rest of his life, one of a number of preachers or professors in a large American or Canadian urban centre. Closely related to the role of informal support networks is the critical function of mentors, like Coldwell, in enabling individuals to make deeper sociopolitical commitments or to encourage them to expose themselves to situations that may considerably alter their viewpoints.

In-depth immersion learning, like that of Douglas, provides a critique of much "head and/or heart" education which often appears to have no impact on the will-power and actions of individuals. Much of today's learning is segmented: cognitive and not emotive, partial not holistic, and often not related to the contextual reality in which the learner lives. In-depth learning, like that of Douglas in Chicago, can also be much more readily identified with liberationist education than with libertarian education and learning.[8] That is, the former appears to be able to help a person break through the ideological assumptions of the closed circle philosophies of capitalism and utopian Marxism in order to discover other ways of conceptualizing the world.

Another adult education theme that emerges from the thesis is the importance of a self-giving or altruistic value framework for motivating, propelling and directing individuals to serve and sacrifice for others. The decision to become a political candidate followed when he had learned to postpone or give up his own preaching-teaching career at larger churches or in a university. He was able to make that decision when he realized that there were not enough skilled leaders in the Depression's populist movement, while his Social Gospel faith provided him with the moral "ought."

The research demonstrates conclusively that a significant change occurred in Douglas in Chicago during the summer of 1931. Not only did Douglas' own statements (Chapter Five) clearly indicate the impact of the city's poverty upon his own mental and emotional being but all the biographical works, except that of Bradley, and most of the respondents interviewed, verify that claim. Mezirow's theoretical perspective provided a tool to help interpret the narrative of Douglas' transition. In short, Mezirow's lens adds further insight as to how Douglas' transition may have occurred or can be understood and analyzed from an anecdotal, but not an empirical, knowledge perspective.

References:

[1] Doris French Shackleton, Tommy Douglas: A Biography. Don Mills: McClelland and Stewart, 1975, pp.30 - 31; The Making of a Socialist: the Recollections of T.C. Douglas. Edited by Lewis H. Thomas. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1982, pp.45 - 47; Thomas H. and Ian McLeod, Tommy Douglas: The Road to Jerusalem. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987, pp.25 - 28.

[2] Thomas H. and Ian McLeod, Ibid., pp.231ff.

[3] Jack Mezirow, Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991, p.193.

[4] Mezirow, Ibid., pp.160 - 161; 168 - 169; 192 - 195, and Mezirow, Fostering Critical Reflection in Adulthood, pp.xvi, 12 - 19, 354 - 361.

[5] Ross McMurtry, "Weyburn pays tribute to Tommy", Leader Post, March 3, 1986.

[6] Kenneth Falconer, Tommy Douglas, 1930 - 1944, A Case Study of Leadership And Social Structure. Regina: University of Regina, 1978, p.123.

[7] Falconer, Ibid., p.148.

[8] Glenys Huws, Women and Transformative Education. Toronto: O.I.S.E./University of Toronto, 1990, pp.222ff.

Time and Space in Adult Education: The Dimensions of Domination and Resistance In Modern and Postmodern Times

Donovan Plumb
University of Alberta

Abstract: Postmodernism is changing the time and space in which adult education carries out its cultural practices. Critical forms of adult education are in danger of being deactivated by this new time and space. Adult educators must face the challenge of continuing an emancipatory adult pedagogy in postmodern times.

Résumé: La Postmodernisme change 'le temps et le lieu' dans lequel l'enseignement des adultes s'exerces ses pratiques culturelles. Les formes critiques de cet enseignement sont en dangers d'être désactivé par cet nouveau 'temps et lieu. Les enseignants de ces adultes doivent affronter cet défi pendant ces temps postmoderne, par la continuation d'une pédagogie d'adulte emancipé.

A change in the constitution of global capitalist society, identified by many as postmodernity, is radically transforming the categories of space and time in which adult education conducts its cultural practices. The rapid deployment of communication and information processing technologies has thrust capitalist society, to use David Harvey's (1989) phrase, into an intensive period of space/time compression. While forms of adult education that serve the accumulation and legitimation needs of capitalism seem to be adapting smoothly to this change, forms that resist the imperatives of capitalism are in danger of being deactivated by the space and time of postmodernity. This paper contends that critical adult educators cannot ignore the phenomenon of postmodernity. Rather, they must work hard to understand the features of postmodernity and to discover positive ways to resist domination within contemporary dimensions of space and time.

Space and Time

Because the categories of space and time seem so fundamental we rarely question their meaning. We understand them with our common-sense and assume that, at base, only one space and one time exists, and each is objective and measurable, the space and time of maps and clocks. Anthropology, even physics, tell us, however, that space and time vary. Anthropological curios like the non-differentiation of past, present and future by the Hopi Indians, and like the six directions recognized by the Plains Indians remind us of the flexible nature of space and time. Even in our own lives our understanding of time varies. We experience the cyclical time of family life, where years can seem like seconds; the progressive time of contemporary society, a raging torrent, always changing, ever advancing; and the interrupted time of cataclysm and disaster, where minutes seem like hours. Space varies, too. Our personal awareness of space changes with who we are and what we do. Children and adults, the mad and the sane, men and women, the wealthy and the poor, and so on, have very different senses of volume, distance, direction, and pattern. Prairie space is different if we walk its dusty undulations than if we drive its straight roads.

A host of contemporary geographers like Henri Lefebvre (1991), Edward Soja (1989), and David Harvey (1989) agree that the objectivity of space and time is an illusion and believe that the space and time of maps and clocks are culturally bound conceptions. Moreover, these theorists contend that all conceptions of space and time, including the one we hold as objective, arise out of the material processes of societies. As Harvey writes, "objective conceptions of space and time are necessarily created through material practices and processes which serve to reproduce social life" (p. 204). Similarly, Soja and Lefebvre depict how space "is simultaneously the medium and outcome, presupposition and embodiment, of social action and relationship" (Soja, p. 129). Different modes of production develop different conceptions of space and time and a host of related spatial and temporal concepts like society (Wolf, 1988), nation (Segal, 1988; Gupta and Ferguson, 1992), and culture (Tomlinson, 1991).

Harvey describes how space and time both constitute and are constituted by the material processes of social reproduction. Drawing on the work of Hägerstrand, Harvey observes how all social actors carry out projects "that take time through movement in space" (p. 211). To achieve their projects, each individual must overcome limited time resources and the "friction of distance." These problems become more difficult when individual projects become part of larger social projects that require many social actors to meet in space and time to coordinate actions. Social transactions of this sort are facilitated by a geographical array of social "stations" (places where people meet to carry out specifiable activities) and "domains" (where certain kinds of interaction prevail).

While this depiction offers important insight into the structuring of a culture's space and time, it does not illuminate how or why particular arrays of stations and domains prevail within social life. Harvey contends that one must realize that space and time are a crucial (perhaps the crucial) source of social power: those who command space and time, who influence the configuration of stations and domains, control the actions of all who live in that space and time. For example, Henri Lefebvre, in his ground-breaking study, *The Production of Space* demonstrates how the command of space enables social agents to control the everyday activities of others. More explicitly, Michel Foucault studies control through the domination of space in institutions like asylums (1965), hospitals (1973), and prisons (1977), and advances the discussion further in his analysis of sexuality (1978) where he explores how it is even possible to control the inner space of the body. Other theorists like Paul Virilio (1989) discuss the domination of space and time with regards to war, contending that success in war depends on a combatant's ability to create a battle space, through surveillance, coordination, and speed, where one can observe the actions of an opponent before one's own actions are observed. Time and space are never benign. They are central elements of any struggle for power and always bear the scars of historical social battles.

Space and Time in Modernity

Like the history of warfare, capitalist modernity as a whole can be reconceptualized as a struggle over space and time. Capitalist activity, like other material processes, contends with the limitations of space and time. To effect production, capitalists create specialized spaces and times (the workplace and the workday) where the labour of workers and the material instruments of production mesh to generate commodities. Also, capitalists create specialized spaces and times for commodity exchange (market), for the cultural practices that accompany their consumption (household), and for binding these various stations together (roads, shipping lanes, towns and cities). The space and time we experience today is not a natural condition. It was created by the bourgeoisie over centuries of struggle.

Historically, the rise of capitalism, with its novel use of space and time, required both material resources and a new attitude. The rising bourgeoisie accumulated the necessary material resources to transform space and time over several centuries preceding the industrial revolution. This was a difficult struggle. Practically every bourgeoisie advance was resisted by an aristocracy who garnered great social power from the space and time of feudalism. As Corrigan and Sayer (1985) make clear, the cultural revolution of capitalism transpired in successive waves of social struggle spanning many centuries. Not until the 19th century did the bourgeoisie accumulate sufficient resources to initiate a dramatic wave of space/time compression in the industrial revolution.

The new attitude required for the reconstruction of space and time first emerged during the Renaissance when thinkers began, for the first time, to apply rationalized tools to measure and control space and time. For example, perspectival mapping (the mercator projection among others) permitted a detached observer to accurately gauge distance and area, and the chronometer, with its regular divisions (minutes were invented in the 17th century, seconds in the 19th) to accurately coordinate actions. These rationalized tools contributed in important ways to the belief amongst Enlightenment thinkers that the entire world was ultimately knowable and controllable. Such attitudes provided fertile ground for the development of capitalism and for the rapid compression of space and time during the industrial revolution.

Capitalism's tendency to cycle through periods of overaccumulation, crisis, reorganization, and growth produced several waves of space/time compression during the 19th and 20th centuries. The first took place during the first decades of the 19th century. Aided by the bourgeois state, capitalists in Europe created large factory cities; transformed small landholdings and large commons into privately owned pastures for wool production; cast peasants from their lands to seek employment in burgeoning urban sprawls; built intricate and massive networks of canals, roadways, and shipping lanes; and replaced the easy cycle of pastoral time with the frantic time of the mill and its regular regime of work hours. These transformations were not achieved easily. The bourgeoisie's efforts to create a compressed space and time conducive to capitalist enterprise not only forced them to expend a massive investment of resources but embroiled them in great struggles with the proletariat. Organizing themselves for the first time as a social class, the proletariat intensely resisted the space and time of capitalism. Proletariat resistance, however, was met by the bourgeoisie's superior ability to shape space and time which enabled them, in the end, to contain and regulate the masses.

The space and time of early 19th century capitalism lasted until the great depression of 1847 when falling profits spurred capitalists to reach beyond the shores of their homelands for resources, labor, and consumers. To effectively exploit the hinterland, capitalists and their supporting states produced an even more compressed space and time known as colonialism that eventually wove far off countries and industrial nations into a single world capitalist system.

This great wave of space/time transformation intensified to the beginning of the 20th century when it dashed itself onto the shore of World War I and the Russian Revolution and ran in eddies onto the beaches of the great depression of the 1930's. Already, though, a new means for further space-time compression was taking shape. Henry Ford discovered that the friction of distance could be greatly reduced by breaking production into a series of steps and coordinating these steps on an assembly line. Ford's innovation could easily manage massive industrial complexes and extremely intricate production processes. The dislocations of the World War II were a perfect opportunity to implement this new and rapid compression of space and time. To meet the imperatives of assembly-line production, work hours were extended around the clock; time-motion studies were implemented in industry after industry to maximize efficiency; cities grew; transportation systems expanded; communication systems developed; surveillance systems emerged; households fragmented; shopping centers arrived. The old adage, time is money, was only partly true. In Fordist times, space and time were both money.

Domination in Fordism was achieved primarily through the domination of *place*. The basic strategy of Ford's innovation was to concentrate large numbers of workers in one geographic location to reduce the friction of distance and increase the efficiency of production. Ford realized it was much easier to dominate the space and time of a single *place* than it was to coordinate actions occurring over a more diffused space. Centralized production processes created a concentrated place, predominantly geographic like the factory or the city, where the fragmented actions of workers were easily monitored by surveillance and controlled by disciplinary force. It also created a space and time amenable to hegemonic domination. The city and factory constituted physical locations where bourgeoisie ideologues developed discourses legitimating the inequitable relations of capitalism (Briton and Plumb, 1993).

Ford's strategy of maximizing production through the effective domination of place was resisted by varied social groups. The concentrated space of capitalist enterprise was easily identifiable and susceptible to capture. Some workers and other groups overcame the fragmenting power of Fordism to disrupt its concentrated space and time through strikes and other forms of civil disobedience. Capitalist hegemony was also susceptible to attack. Oppositional intellectuals drew on the discursive resources of working-class cultures to offer counter-hegemonic ideologies to challenge the monolithic and totalizing ideologies of the bourgeoisie. While it is difficult to say to what extent opposition to space and time caused modernity's downfall, by the early 1970's, the Fordist regime of accumulation had begun to run its course. A new depression that began in 1973 and that continues to this day sparked a vast transformation in the space and time of capitalism. The cultural manifestations of this change are known as postmodernity.

Adult Education in the Space and Time of Modernity

The cultural practices of contemporary adult education developed under Fordism. Before the 20th century, adult education existed marginally as a purposeful, organized practice, with good reason. In the 19th century, the skills and attitudes acquired by the proletariat through socialization were enough to meet the labour needs of capitalist enterprise. In fact, the great achievement of capitalism lay precisely in its ability to exploit the cultural accomplishments of other modes of production within the altered time and space of the industrial workplace. Socialization also provided workers with many attributes needed to withstand or even resist the negative side-effects of industrialization. Even though the privations of the 19th century were extreme, they typically did not outstrip the capacity of traditional cultures to provide their members with important resources for living meaningful lives. Adult education was only occasionally pursued to help social groups survive the space and time of capitalist industrialization (the Mechanics Institutes of Britain, the Folk Schools of Denmark, and the immigrant education programs of the US. are three 19th century examples).

The advent of Fordism changed this situation. The fragmentation of space and time that accompanied Ford's production strategy overwhelmed the capacity of traditional cultures to provide either the skills for specialized employment or the resources for withstanding the dislocations and privations of capitalist modernity. Increasingly, adult education was identified as a potential means for augmenting the capacity of individuals and groups to cope with or to resist the difficulties of the 20th century. Two fundamentally different forms of adult education developed to meet this challenge. The first, mainstream adult education, served the interests of capitalist enterprise. Not only was it shaped by the space and time of Fordism, but it participated in constituting this space and time. The second form of adult education, critical adult education, emerged to serve the interests of those resisting capitalism and its negative social consequences. A key aspect of this form of adult education was its opposition to the space and time of Fordism. As Welton (1991) writes: "some adult educators have, as one of their jobs, the quelling of the insurrections of subjugated knowledges. Others, it seems, have the task of participating in the insurrection itself" (p. 26).

From the outset, mainstream adult education emulated the space and time of Fordism to prepare workers for the specialized and ever-changing tasks of the assembly-line. Like Fordist factories, adult education institutions regulated large numbers of students by constructing a concentrated *place* where all actions could be easily monitored and disciplined. Adult educators fragmented knowledge into small pieces that could be systematically and sequentially taught to learners in compartmentalized workstations (classrooms, desks, and shops); they timed learning activities and measured their outcomes; they expected students to keep hours consistent with the cycles of the workday and adhere to codes of conduct typical of the workplace. Such activities were governed by both surveillance and discipline made possible by the centralization of the institution. If mainstream adult educators found it impossible to construct an actual physical place to emulate the space and time of the factory, they developed distance education technologies to emulate these characteristics. Film projectors, mobile workshops, and portable classrooms helped create the space and time of capitalism in remote locations.

Critical adult educators, on the other hand, resisted the space and time of Fordism. Locating themselves in the interstices of Fordist space and time, typically in small, community-based organizations, critical adult educators struggled to combat the fragmentation of the Fordist production process. Be they tutors of the Workers Education Association in Britain, civil rights educators with Highlander in Tennessee, cooperation educators in the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia, or Freirian popular educators in Latin America or Africa, the strategy of critical educators was to foster solidarity amongst people to enable them to contest the domination of *place* prevalent in Fordist society. This strategy, it is important to observe, was essentially *geographic.* It entailed the actual take-over of identifiable locations, be they the community, the street, the factory, or the educational institution and the reconstruction of that location according to a space and time commensurate with community needs. The geographic nature of this strategy extends even to capitalist hegemony. It is no accident that Antonio Gramsci (1971) uses a geographic metaphor to characterize hegemonic struggle. He contends that the war of position against capitalist hegemony is waged on a front and that strategies of resistance take the form of gradually reclaiming discourse from capitalist domination. Gramsci understood that a crucial part of dominating a geographical place is constructing a totalizing discourse to legitimize the social relations of that place. Adult educators fostering counter-hegemonic discourse, therefore, struggled to make inroads into the actual place where hegemony transpired.

In practice, critical adult educators encouraged people to unify to free the space of their community from surveillance; to take back spaces commandeered for the production process; to collectively institute a measure of time unregulated by the lock-step of the industrial process; and to contest the idea that the learning process should be fragmented, that people's ideas should be monitored and evaluated, that adults should be taught individualized, skills oriented, curricula. Perhaps most importantly, though, they offered their learners a counter-hegemonic discourse to contest the ideology of capitalism, particularly the idea that space and time naturally conform to the imperatives of the capitalist process. In all instances of their practice, however, their to recapture space and time from Fordist capitalism invariably involved recapturing a concrete and identifiable geographic place.

Space and Time in Postmodernity

The depression of 1973 spurred capitalist enterprises to seek new ways of increasing the efficiency of their operations. Advances in communications and computer technologies, the development of sophisticated transportation systems, and the growth of the service and culture industries provided avenues for restructuring space and time that were inconceivable only years before. While in Fordism, capitalists overcame the friction of distance and problems of action coordination by establishing large scale industries to produce industrial commodities for distribution in mass markets, in post-Fordism, capitalists utilize the coordinating power of computers and telecommunications to discern small markets, and to coordinate the manufacture of small batches of specialized products by decentralized, often widely dispersed production units. A key feature of this regime is the commodification of culture. To an unprecedented degree, cultural products and services — works of art, knowledge, health and fitness, fashions, movie images, TV programs, sports spectacles, music, and so on — comprise what is bought and sold in the marketplace (Briton and Plumb, 1993). Most of these ephemeral products and services are produced by small, highly specialized production units and they are transported electronically or by flexible transport systems to nuanced and highly volatile markets throughout the world.

All of these changes have fostered what Harvey identifies as "a new round of ... 'space–time compression'... in the capitalist world — the time horizons of both private and public decision-making have shrunk, while satellite communication and declining transport costs have made it increasingly possible to spread those decisions immediately over an ever wider and variegated space" (p. 147). The Fordist strategy of centralizing production and homogenizing consumption to overcome the friction of distance and the problem of coordinating action becomes cumbersome and inefficient in a world of computers, satellites, and video images. Today's capitalist enterprises do not attempt to dominate *place* to ensure efficient production and consumption. Rather, technology permits them to coordinate the actions of labourers and consumers over vast distances: sophisticated surveillance techniques monitor geographically dispersed production units, computers manage the complexities of the production process, market surveys identify potential market niches, satellites transport image products to the consumer. Domination in postmodern times is effected, not through the control of a unified *place* but through the control of a fragmented and variegated *space*. Heterogeneity replaces homogeneity, fragmentation replaces unity, image replaces object, ephemerality replaces solidity, dispersion replaces centralization, small replaces large. "Diversity thrives, and the market thrives with it" (Bauman, 1991, p. 289). In the postmodern world, hegemony becomes less necessary. A unified culture is no longer required to legitimate the inequitable relations of capitalism. Instead, the proliferation of differences and the silence of the video image obscures the exploitiveness of the system.

Adult Education in the Space and Time of Postmodernity

If anything, mainstream forms of adult education seem to be thriving in the space and time of postmodernity. The commodification of knowledge means that some forms of adult education actually are becoming profit-making enterprises. The ephemerality of the adult education product allows adult education entrepreneurs to utilize even the most sophisticated modern technologies to produce and market specialized adult education programs throughout the world. Old forms of mainstream adult education, which were located in large, state sponsored institutions and which reproduced the space and time of Fordism, are rapidly losing their force. Deprived of its former hegemonic function, mainstream adult education is moving into the market. It no longer strives to provide ideological control for other capitalist enterprises but to make a profit in its own right.

The postmodern prospects for critical adult education are not as bright. Its entire body of critical practices presume the space and time of Fordism. Its strategies for resistance hinge on the notion that domination is always a domination of *place*. Its struggle has always been seen in geographic terms. Its counter-hegemonic strategy assumes that capitalist forces will continue to foster unified, monological cultures that justify capitalism's inequitable relations. Its community-based approach assumes a territory to struggle for. None of these assumptions are now true. Capitalism is shaping a very different space and time and now dominates in very different ways. Critical adult educators must confront these changes and devise new ways of perpetuating the emancipatory intent of their field.

References

Bauman, Z. (1991). *Modernity and ambivalence.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Plumb, D. and Briton, D. (1993). The commodification of adult education. *33rd Annual Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings.* Pennsylvania State University, State College, Pennsylvania.

Corrigan, P. and Sayer, D. (1985). *The great arch: English state formation as cultural revolution.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Foucault, M. (1973). *Birth of the Clinic.* London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1965). *Madness and civilization: a history of insanity in the age of reason.* New York: Vintage Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison.* New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1980). *The history of sexuality. Volume 1: an introduction.* New York: Vintage Books.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks.* New York: International Publishers.

Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond "culture": space, identity, and the politics of difference. *Cultural Anthropology* 7, 1 (6-23).

Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space.* Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Segal, D. (1988). Nationalism, comparatively speaking. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, 3. (301-321).

Soja, E. (1989). *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory.* London: Verso.

Tomlinson, J. (1991). *Cultural Imperialism.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Virilio, P. (1984). *War and Cinema.* London: Verso.

Welton, M. (1991). Dangerous knowledge: Canadian worker's education in the decades of discord. *Studies in the Education of Adults.* 23,1 (24-40).

Making Sense of Change in an Increasingly Diverse Workplace

by: Marian Pitters and Pria Muzumdar

In this article the authors discuss their findings of how people make sense of significant changes in the workplace, through dialogue and the evocation of images. The authors describe how their research has influenced their practices as educational consultants, researchers, learners, and as members of a very diverse community.

Dans cet article, à travers des dialogues at des images évocatrices, les auteurs discutent leurs découvertes à savoir comment les travailleurs interprètent des changements importants dans leur milieu de travail. Les auteurs décrivent l'influence de leur recherche sur leurs activités professionnelles telles: conseillers en éducation, chercheurs, etudiants et comme members d'une communauté hétérogène.

Adults confront a number of significant changes throughout their lives, and the implicit image of the learner in adult education literature is an independent individual governed by her/his own rationally derived decisions. Taylor proposes that this image underestimates the complexities of the learning experience and thus renders incomplete the work of researchers such as Knowles (1973), Tough (1979, 1982), and Smith (1982).

After many discussions about our separate practices, we discovered that out of our own diffidence with individual and rational teaching styles, we had each taken atypical approaches to our own learning and/or to facilitating others' learning. Our early lack of confidence with learning was supplanted by successful experiences. Our separate studies and different methodologies attempt to expand current understandings of this area of inquiry, and in particular, how dialogue and/or imagery enables people to confront change, initiate meaning making processes, and resolve issues in the workplace and in life in general.

In Pitters' study, the reflections of four health care educators and the other persons with whom they individually interact, are used to interpret how peoples' dialogue enable the creation of meaning. Each of the study participants saw themselves as experiencing significant change in the year prior to the beginning of this study. The changes described by the participants included the following:

- Soon after Barb began her new position as an educator, her supervisor was fired and all of Barb's colleagues resigned in protest. Barb was continually sabotaged by her superiors in her efforts to carry on.

- Joan advanced a vision for her expanding education department's role as that of facilitating the hospital's response to the community's mushrooming needs. Many people viewed this role as inappropriate and resented her department's increasingly visible profile.

- Tom became increasingly concerned about the depth of deception and questionable ethics practised within the hospital. There were a number of life and death situations which he believed could have been avoided.

- Claudia observed that decisions became increasingly determined by administrators' religious beliefs rather than by concrete data. She was extremely frustrated with how this change undermined management's overall effectiveness.

I interviewed the above four individuals, and also the eleven other persons with whom they interacted, in order to explore both parties' involvement in the interactions. A qualitative research approach included data collection using semi-structured interviews, and a collaborative approach to the analysis wherein the study participants and researcher reviewed the transcripts.

The interpretation of the results involved tracking themes and metaphors in the data, drawing these discoveries, and talking to my learning partners about them. Two metaphors inspired my interpretation, one of which was musical, and the other visual. The musical metaphor of the fugue fleshed out my understanding about how people interact. A number of voices are present in point and counterpoint, each complementing the other, so that they are heard more clearly. Gilligan's recent work points out that the musical language of the fugue's counterpoint and theme is predominant in peoples' lives when they are dealing with change (1990).

A visual metaphor was also captivating me at this time - the yin-yang symbol for two complementary forces that make up all of life. There is an interplay or alternating rhythm between the two, in that as one increases, the other decreases. After seeing a similar design on a ring that immediately resonated through me, I quickly developed a design that accurately reflected my interpretation while I played some of Bach's fugues. Both metaphors of yin-yang and fugue have so much in common as represented in this study. Both are complementary, both allow more than one theme, force, or aspect to be present, and these parts in relationship create a whole. My experience with these metaphors confirmed Van Daele's study that the deepest truths are often expressed metaphorically (Van Daele, 1990, p. 58). It was through searching for meaning in the fugue and the yin-yang metaphors, and bouncing these meanings off my learning partners, that I was able to create The Dialogue of Experiential Learning in Figure I.

The term "dialogue", in the title of the representation, is derived from the Greek *dia* or "through" and *logos* or "the word". It refers to a free flow of meaning between people in communication. "The spirit of dialogue is the ability to hold many points of view in suspension, along with a primary interest in the creation of common meaning" (Bohm and Peat, 1987). People listen to one another with an intent to understand each other, ready to change points of view if that seems reasonable.

As shown in Figure I, two components make up The Dialogue. One component is the dialectical relationship of the initiator and the contributor, represented here by one facial profile defining the other. The second component is a loop which consists of eight phases through which the participants shift when the initiator is confronted with a significant change at work. For the Dialogue of Experiential Learning to occur, both components must be present - the dialectical relationship of the participants and the activation of the various phases of the loop. How people are with each other (the dialectic) and what they do together (the phases of the loop) are both essential to the initiation and continuation of the Dialogue of Experiential Learning.

In the first component, the essence of the dialectic of the initiator and contributors: "lies in their recognizing and embracing contradictions in their dialogue in an inclusive relationship of both/and, in order to stimulate their own growth and development" (Deshler, 1985, p. 6). This dynamic relativism of dialectic thinking contrasts with the static focus on absolutism found in dualistic thinking. As a number of writers have indicated, dialectic is a way of thinking and living that emphasizes interconnections rather than separateness, and presumes that truth is always emergent, never fixed (Fox, 1979, p. 102; Daloz, 1986, p. 141).

In this study the participants all report that both others' and their own involvement are essential to their success in dealing with their change. Meaning is created in the dialectic of their dialogue, through their attempts to understand and resolve their uncertainties, and to manage the contradictions evident in the changes with which they are confronted.

Defining the dialectic of the participants' relationships are two elements: that they commit to others' evolving; and that they complement each other. In Figure I, these elements are located between the profiles of the initiator and contributor in order to emphasize their critical role in fueling and enabling their dialectical relationship. The presence of this dialectic is essential to the activation of the eight phases of the dialogue through which the participants shift:

- Discord (inability to make sense of experience),
- Reaching Out (for resources from others),
- Playing the Theme (recreating the experience in vivid detail,
- Sounding the Variations (developing a conceptual understanding),
- Composing a Resolution (evaluating proposed solutions),
- Rehearsing the Performance (mapping out strategies),
- Performing (implementing the strategies), and
- Harmony (readiness to move on with life's journey).

Through their dialogue of experiential learning, participants have opportunities to discover and develop dimensions of themselves that were previously unknown. In this way people transform their inner wolds, and take action to transform their outer worlds as well.

Muzumdar's several years of research have contributed to designing visual literacy strategies to help teachers confront change in the classroom. There is an overwhelming need in today's increasingly plural society to develop classroom common sense. To address this need, in-classroom teacher training workshops that focus on the issue of deconstructing prejudice, have been held in three countries.

The research was triggered by identification of children's colour misunderstandings which resulted in unjust racial value judgements. I found that adults were well versed in the veneer of political correctness and perhaps concealed some of the same misunderstandings. Very little in the elementary schools or teachers' college curriculum addressed the issue clearly, despite many Boards' race relations policies and a number of researchers identification of the need for practical strategies (Aboud, 1988; Milner, 1983; Derman-Sparkes, 1989; Leicester, 1989). In our work we found that children needed to talk about differences and similarities; teachers needed "matter-of-fact" tools to facilitate that process comfortably. If it is considered a sign of intelligence for a child to tell the difference between a red triangle and a blue square, why should the same child ignore, or be told not to see the colour differences in human skin tone?

To explore this question we relied on the syntax of visual literacy which includes colour, shape, size, texture, context, form and function. We used these building blocks to create metaphors that converted abstract social philosophy into experiential exercises. For example, if indeed the classroom discussion is about skin color, we have found that words by themselves are inadequate; the discussion must be conducted visually. Melanin is a pigment; so is classroom paint. It is very easy to mix "pretend melanin". This "magic sun block lotion" is mixed with primary red, blue, and yellow paint. More or less of each of these colours plus a base white can create any child's skin tone. There is nothing more unifying than using the same pots of colour to mix every child's skin tone - the shared similarity in their obvious diversity. In less than one hour, teachers discover a hands-on way that all children, especially those that are "melanin rich", can take pride in their skin colour and the way they look. Providing a range of skin coloured paints and crayons, though a great leap forward in democratizing the classroom, does not deconstruct the shared element in skin tones.

The physical act of stirring up a pot of tertiary coloured paint also triggers verbalization of underlying colour prejudices. If brown is called "yucky", the teacher now has the occasion to explain that brown is also the colour of chocolate, the earth, teddy bears, and so on. True deconstruction of value connotations about colour can occur. This example of the visual literacy training strategies that have been responded to so positively by teachers demonstrates how perceptions can be altered. Prejudice is conditioned by faulty perceptions which can be addressed at the source of misunderstanding. As our prejudices about people are formed using fragmented sensory information, they can easily be re-ordered and redefined using mixed sensory means.

Anti-racism, anti-bias and equity education is a multi-pronged, multi-layered effort. Practise drives theory. Teachers measure success in the relief of being able to do something constructive and meaningful when facing change. We can theorize about this development of classroom commonsense. According to Jagger, feminist materialism indicates that the test for adequacy of action on the everyday world is constituted by successfulness in actual struggles in transformation. (1983).

We have found that teachers confronting issues associated with the increasing plurality of the classroom can deal with this change in a more profound way than simply being politically correct. They have shown us that they can make a difference in how children perceive other children, and in how teachers themselves perceive their students and other teachers.

In conclusion, our research shows that the vehicles of dialogue and imagery contribute to meaning making in profound ways. Previously these methods have been overlooked because they are so much a part of our every day "sense making" as women. Through our work we are re-discovering the value of these strategies and applying these in our professional and personal lives.

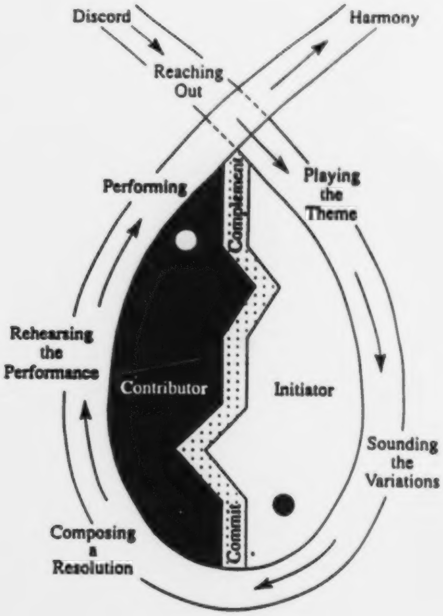


Figure 1: The Dialogue of Experiential Learning

References:

Aboud, Frances. (1988) . Children and Prediuduce. New York: Blackwell.
Bohm, D., and Peat, F., (1987). Order and Creativity. New York: Doubleday.
Daloz, L. (1986). Effective Teaching and Mentoring: Realizing the transformational power of adult learning experiences. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Derman-Sparks, Louise. (1989). Anti-bias Curriculum. Tools for Empowering Young Children. National Association for the Education of Young Children.
Deshler, D. (1985, November 5). Moral Faith and Cognitive Development: Aspects of critical awareness on the part of professors of adult education. Paper presented to the Commission of Professors of Adult Education Conference, Milwaukee.
Fox, M. (1979). A Spirituality Named Compassion and the Healing of the Global Village. Humpty Dumpty and Us. Minneapolis, Minn.: Winston Press.
Gilligan C., N. Lyons, and T. Hanmer (Eds.). (1990). Making Connections: The relational worlds of adolescent girls at Emma Willard School. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Hunt, D. (1987). Beginning With Ourselves: In practice, theory, and human affairs. Cambridge, Mass.: Brookline Books.
Jagger, A. (1983). Feminist Politics and Human Nature. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allenheld.
Knowles, M. (1973). The Adult Learner: A neglected species. Houston: Gulf Publishing.
Leicester, Mal. (1989). Multicultural Education from Theory to Practice. NFER-Nelson.
Smith, R. (1982). Learning How to Learn: Applied theory for adults. New York: Cambridge.
Tough, A. (1967). Learning Without a Teacher: A study of tasks and assistance during adult self-teaching projects. Toronto: O.I.S.E.
Van Daele, C. (1990). Making Words Count: The experience and meaning of the diary in women's lives. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, O.I.S.E.

RECOVERING COMMUNITY IN THE ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT

Timothy Pyrch

Abstract: This is a philosophical/historical essay about the central importance of community in our adult education movement past, present and future. Drawing upon a global perspective, my view is that the recovery of community is essential if we are to avoid the spectre of our knowledge standardized and hierarchically controlled in some remote and inaccessible fortress.

La présente communication étudie, dans une perspective philosophico-historique, le rôle capital que joue la communauté dans la mouvance continue de l'éducation des adultes. Je poserai, à partir d'un regard sur le globe, qu'il est devenu essentiel aujourd'hui de recouvrer la communauté pour éviter le danger d'un savoir standardisé, voire hiérarchisé dans l'enceinte d'une forteresse distante, inaccessible et hégémonique.

We live in a world that needs to recover its interconnectedness. Things are changing so rapidly. Global trends make it harder to understand life because decisions are made further and further away. Any sense of control of our destiny has been lost. At the same time we are plagued by the bottom line mentality, a tyranny of accounting and budgets. While we are pressed to be fiscally responsible, we know not the face to whom we are accountable. Puppet-like we are jerked into positions by faceless forces. What are we adult educators doing about it?

My first reaction is to say - precious little! Much of what we write still reflects the positivist research tradition that insists on measurement instead of understanding. Some of us remain preoccupied, as were our colleagues in the mid-fifties, with building a discipline rather than broadening out in a transdisciplinary way. Programmers in university continuing education like me are instructed to be hustlers in order to generate ever more income to support the massive bureaucracy in which we work. The larger we get the fewer times we have to see each other. Nevertheless, we still have the opportunity to come to conferences like this and share.

One reason for coming here is to reconnect with colleagues, to talk about what we are doing as adult educators. Indeed, we do refer to 'we' quite a lot. Perhaps unconsciously we greet each other in caring/sharing ways because we reaffirm our membership in the adult education movement. We put a face to an author or a long-time practitioner. We get a little closer to them as a result. We take time to listen to each other. Things are arranged 'human scale.' Once reassured that our community is intact, we can go home and carry on the tradition knowing we are not alone. We can even be comfortable in our marginality.

But are we really conscious of being a community and do we know the obligations as well as the privileges of membership? How many of us know not only that we are indeed a community and therein lies some of our strength, but that the community concept itself is a major foundation block of adult education as a field of practice and study? How many know that community development which we have practiced, valued and incorporated into early conceptual models of adult education, is a process to create community? Ten years ago I completed an historical account of the community development concept that covered the period 1919-1960 (Pyrch 1983). Elayne Harris (1992) recently wrote that there had been little attention to this topic in the literature in the thirty years after the period I covered. Did we abandon community development? One notable exception is the journal Convergence, the publication of the International Council for Adult Education. The community development concept is alive and well in our international window. Perhaps our community tradition has been saved abroad and can now re-enter the Canadian movement through that window.

I am an advocate for the recovery of community in the adult education movement. If the state continues to crumble and we learn at last the folly of consumerism and materialism, we shall have no choice but to adopt human scale living and simplicity. Do any of us deny the warnings the planet is making clearer and clearer? We need to counterbalance the global trend toward bigness with a movement toward smallness. Plant and Plant (1992) tell us we must "transform the very nature of power, to put it back in place, to empower local communities and, on that basis, to confederate and create a newly powerful form: a truly ecological and sustainable whole" (p. 8).

My advocacy has three forms. First I shall speculate on the future, on the possibilities of the twenty-first century. E. H. Carr (1961) taught us that history is a dialogue between the future and the past. My second form, therefore, is a sketch of the place of community in our past. With this view of our history in place, I then describe the re-emergence of community at present drawing mainly upon my own experiences. This sketch is presented with broad strokes rather than precise detail. Such detail will come later.

The Future. The future I see incorporates at least three ideas; libertarian thought, a holistic view of the world and ecological balance. The libertarian view optimistically sees every human being as competent to manage the affairs of society and, more specifically, the community in which they reside. Myles Horton and Paulo Freire (1991) have something to say about this. When they met to compare their life's work, they reflected on the ideas that drove them:

> First is the fundamental belief in the importance of the freedom of people everywhere...Second is the radical democratic belief in the capacity and right of all people to achieve that freedom through self-emancipation (p. xxx).

Both believed that real liberation is achieved through popular participation. "Participation in turn is realized through an educational practice that itself is both liberatory and participatory, that simultaneously creates a new society and involves the people themselves in the creation of their own knowledge." Henry Giroux (1985) interpreted Freire's faith in the power of the oppressed as

> a notion of education fashioned in more than critique and Orwellian pessimism; it is a discourse that creates a new starting point by trying to make hope realizable and despair unconvincing...by combining the discourses of critique and possibility, Freire joins history and theology in order to provide the theoretical basis for a radical pedagogy that combines hope, critical reflection and collective struggle (xiii).

The libertarian view is advanced by acknowledging the contribution of all forms of knowledge to our well-being; by understanding the holistic, dynamic and organic potential of knowledge creation. Physicist David Bohm (1993) tells us that: "It has become urgent that we communicate, to share our consciousness. We must be able to think together, in order to do intelligently whatever is necessary (p. 10). Art historian Suzi Gablik (1993) writes: "So much has the structure of our thinking and experience been shaped by the assumption of separateness that most of us in the modern capitalist world have never had an experience of true community" (p. 28). Bohm and Gablik write for the journal Resurgence, a publication for the past twenty years of Schumacher College, an International Centre for Ecological and Spiritual Studies in Britain. Perhaps we might return to Schumacher's classic Small is Beautiful (1973) for guidance: "Wisdom demands a new orientation of science and technology towards the organic, the gentle, the non-violent, the elegant and beautiful" (p. 31). It is comforting to know we already have much wisdom to help us with the looming challenges we face.

The third idea flows from the notion of a holistic search for freedom. In his version of remaking society, libertarian ecologist Murray Bookchin (1989) sees the challenge as "the abolition of hierarchy, the reharmonization of humanity with nature through the reharmonization of human with human, the achievement of an ecological society structured on ecologically sound technologies and face-to-face democratic communities" (p. 156). The solution to the ecological imbalance we have created as we sought to dominate nature lies, at least in part, in our communities. We have to regain control over our lives.

One final point about the future. I see it as a time when we finally recover our spirituality. According to development critic Majid Rahnema (1992): "Spiritual expresses the following qualities: sensitivity; the art of listening to the world at large and within one, free from the hegemony of a conditioned 'me' constantly interfering in the process; the ability to relate to others and to act, without any pre-defined plan or ulterior motives; and the perennial qualities of love, compassion and goodness which are under constant assault in economized societies" (p. 130). At the same time, we might not be able to recognize our own value on our own. The Yolgnu people of the Northern Territory in Australia tell us that their participatory research is done "always together, yaka guna" (Marika, Ngurruwutthan and White 1992). Yaka guna conveys the meaning of never on your own or individually - always a group, never an individual. This does not mean the individual is unimportant. Rather, it means that personal and social transformation are facilitated by collective cooperative sharing in community.

The Past. Balance is crucial if we are to have a peaceful, equitable and just future. From the beginning of our articulate movement in the 1920s we have searched for balance, one way by conceiving the community development concept. I have written at length about the evolution of the concept (Pyrch 1983, 1988) and will only make a couple of points here. Adult education for social improvement was our main interest once depression set in during the 1920s, and continued through to the 1950s. We perceived the community as the ideal unit of human association within which social improvement could be achieved, and the concept of cooperation as the means to that end. Inquiry into collective cooperative improvement of society led to an examination of the relationship between education and social action. These ideas were inextricably wound up in the community development concept by the 1950s.

During all these years, there had been tensions between individual and social, individual and community, and education and social action. Issues were sensitive and deep. We treated the concepts as opposites, as adversaries. Rifts grew in the movement and remain. In introducing the five chapters about the community transactional mode in the

1980 Handbook series, Boyd and Apps (1980) declared that "all authors agree that adult educators working in the community action mode must regard education, rather than community development and social change, as their primary end" (p. 87). Mainstream adult educators continue to treat our basic concepts as adversaries. We need other advice. Recalling Schumacher (1977):

> Societies need stability and change, tradition and innovation, public interest and private interest, planning and laissez-fairs, order and freedom, growth and decay. Everywhere society's health depends on the simultaneous pursuit of mutually opposed activities or aims (p. 127).

Adult education needs education and social action.

One final word about the past. It would be fascinating to hypothesize that the community development concept grew in Canada and the United States during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, was exported to the South (Third World) in the 1950s and 1960s, was reconstituted as participatory action research in the South during the 1970s, and is being returned as such to us at present. This could illustrate the interconnectedness of ideas in our movement over time and place.

The Present. I am optimistic we can create a history that interprets our past as preparation for a future where our interconnected search for freedom helps our planet through her healing process. There is evidence at present that we are making progress. I see signs of our libertarian tradition in our current literature in the concepts of participatory action research, critical social theory and social transformation. More and more of us are understanding the paramount importance of a learning climate that fosters self-esteem and interdependence. Gwyneth Griffith's (1987) image of interdependence is part of a "a vision of a different kind of world, a world of 'shalom,' of wholeness, peace and justice" (p. 56). One objective is to break down all forms of hegemony. Patricia Maguire (1987) explains participatory action research as a process of returning to ordinary people the power to participate in knowledge creation, the power that results from such participation, and the power to utilize knowledge. This contribution celebrates one feminist perspective. Gablik (1993) adds to this perspective while commenting on "Art to Nurture the World:"

> To see our interdependence and our interconnectedness is the feminine perspective that has been missing not only in our scientific thinking and policy making, but also in our aesthetic philosophy, which has been based on patriarchal traditions of separation and heroic independence. We have so much invested in the self-assertive values and in the world view of individualism that we have lost the sense of being embedded in larger social and eco-systems (p. 29).

In the remaining space in this essay, I purpose to share a recent experience in a collective, cross-cultural, transdisciplinary setting. I offer this as an example of the interconnectedness that is possible in an adult education course. The Community-Based Environmental Protection course (CAPEN) is part of the Canada-Asia Partnership, a CIDA funded six-year project based on a partnership between the Division of International Development at the University of Calgary in Canada, the Institute of Primary Health Care at Ateneo de Davao University in the Philippines and the ASEAN Institute for Health Development at Mahidol University in Thailand. The course was piloted in July 1991 and run again in July 1992, both times based in Calgary. The 1992 CAPEN community included eight Thais, seven Filipinos, one Nepali and eight Canadians.

Our experience can be synthesized as follows. Participation was a fundamental value in CAPEN. It was embedded in the course theme that authentic sharing/caring between different kinds of knowledge creates mutual understanding and a willingness to act together for the common good. Authentic participation demands balance. We were all engaged in a conscious search for a balanced view of each case study we examined and were critical when we did not find it. There also was a conscious search for balance between expert, official and people's knowledge. If all views cannot be heard all the time, as educators we can at least ensure that the different kinds of knowledge are represented as fairly as possible. More importantly perhaps, in keeping with Freire's (1985) notion of education as a humanistic and liberating task we might arrange educational activities to be an act of knowledge in themselves. In other words, knowledge was created during CAPEN rather than simply transferred from one point to another as in 'banking education.'

We focused a lot on the concept of power, concluding that selfish self-interest interfered too often and had to be replaced by mutuality and collective sharing. Obstacles to such mutuality include loss of community control over their affairs, consumerism and fading spirituality. However, a collective optimism identified more opportunities than obstacles. Opportunities included regaining a sense of community through human scale initiatives and a real potential in us all to recover our spirituality by becoming more self-aware, self-assured while selflessly working for the common good. The discipline needed to do this is supplied by the concept of participatory action research.

CAPEN was designed to be an experience in community empowerment. However, while working at length and in depth with several community groups in the province it seemed we were dealing with many fine individuals, but not with communities. These Alberta stories reflected a certain rugged individualism in keeping with the myth of the American frontier. Our colleagues from Southeast Asia were sensitive to this and asked many critical questions about our apparent Canadian inability to act collectively. That critique in fact helped in a positive way. The point may be that the more we work together in an open, critical andcaring way, the more likelihood that community will result. Engaging in community-based environmental protection then becomes a vehicle for building community. Part of the CAPEN legacy in Alberta could very well be the creation of a sense of community in places where there had been none.

Most CAPEN summaries of our month together refer to caring, sharing, love and compassion. This is what we had hoped. We knew the most important learning would take place in the attitudinal domain if we were to achieve our objectives. We knew from the development literature that the major barriers to development lie not so much in the lack of skills or resources but rather in attitudes, especially a lack of confidence or an unwillingness to change (Rogers 1992). At the end, the CAPEN community was confident, flexible and committed to environmental protection in Nepal, the Philippines, Thailand and Canada. Our commitment provided a focus so that differences of race, culture, nationality, gender, language and profession were an asset rather than a barrier.

I think we are on the right track. Adult educators and allies around the world are engaged in quiet, small and mutually supportive efforts to recover community. Perhaps we are creating a 'magic web' to help our counter hegemonic efforts to restore the planet to wellness. It even may be that the web has been with us throughout the movement but inarticulate and hidden because of its commitment to transformative processes.

Ending/Beginning. This paper is the opening move in a larger game. During this coming year I plan to expand this theme into a book. I plan to spend some months in Colombia, Thailand, the Philippines and Australia to experience community adult education activities. This will help to satisfy my ambition to write about the adult education movement globally. Your guidance will be invaluable so please share.

References

Bohm, D. (1993) For Truth Try Dialogue, Resurgence, no. 156, 10-13.

Bookchin, M. (1989) Remaking Society. Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Boyd R. and Apps J. (1980) Redefining the Discipline of Adult Education, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Carr, E. H. (1961) What is History?. London: Macmillan.

Freire, P. (1985) The Politics of Education. Introduction by Henry A. Giroux. New York: Bergin and Garvey.

Gablik, S. (1993) Art to Nurture the World, Resurgence. no. 156, 28-9.

Griffith, G. (1987) Images of Interdependence, Appreciating Adults Learning, edited by D. Boud and V. Griffin. London: Kogan Page, 209-21.

Harris, E. (1992) Dreaming Reality: Small Media in Community Development as Critical Educational Practice. Ed.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto.

Horton, M. and Freire, P. (1991) We Make the Road by Walking. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Marika, R., Ngurruwutthun, D. and White, L. (1992) Always Together, Yaka Guna, Convergence, vol. 25, no. 1, 23-9.

Maguire, P. (1987) Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach. Amherst: The Center for International Education, University of Mass.

Plant, J. and Plant, C. (1992) Putting Power in Its Place: Create Community Control! Gabriola Island: New Society.

Pyrch, T. (1983) An Examination of the Concept of Community Development in Canada and the United States, 1919-60. Ed.D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia.

Pyrch, T. (1988) Origins of the Community Development Concept. Proceedings of the 7th Annual Meeting of CASAE. Calgary, 261-5.

Rahnema, M. (1992) Participation. The Development Dictionary, edited by W. Sachs. London: Zed Books.

Rogers, A. (1992) Adults Learning for Development. London: Cassell Educational.

Schumacher, E. F. (1973) Small is Beautiful. New York: Harper and Row.

Schumacher, E. F. (1977) A Guide for the Perplexed. New York: Harper and Row.

The Stories We Are: Exploring the Poetics of Self-Creation

William L. Randall

Abstract: In this paper, certain observations are made and questions posed concerning the significance for adult educators of the familiar metaphor, "the story of my life".

Resumé: Dans ce papier, quelques observations sont faites et des questions posées concernant la signification pour les educateurs des adultes du metaphor familier, "l'histoire de ma vie."

> **A man (sic.) is always a teller of tales; he lives surrounded by his stories and the stories of others; he sees everything that happens to him through them; and he tries to live his life as if he were recounting it.** **- JEAN-PAUL SARTRE**

Introduction

Hardly a day goes by but what we make some reference, direct or otherwise, to "the **story** of my life". But what do we mean by this familiar figure of speech, by the metaphor of life-as-story? What does it imply about how we experience our selves or interpret our worlds or compose our lives? What might we learn about learning itself if we took our use of it at face value? Over the past few years, such questions have come increasingly to engage my attention. In what ensues, I want to offer a taste of the numerous issues to which pursuing them leads. Doing so, though, represents a contribution less to *what* we think about adult education matters than to *how*. It is a shift in the angle from which we have viewed such matters thus far - from a predominantly social scientific angle, that is, to an aesthetic one. In response to Foucault's call for an "aesthetics of existence" (1988), it is the introduction of an additional key with which to sing the gospel of andragogy, one in tune more with *poetics* than with either psychology or sociology - though perhaps mid-range between the two.

Observations

My first observation is that people have a lot going on inside of them. Witness the complexity of even the simplest learning process; the background we bring to it - the "baggage" - is real. Learning is loaded, no matter how we analyze it. But it is particularly loaded internally. We have come to attribute this to, among other things, the power of "past experience" (Brundage & MacKeracher, 1980, p. 32ff). Sissela Bok, however, has an enticing way of putting the same point: "everytime a person dies it is as if a library had burned down" (1984, p. 21n). In every person's library, of course, there are many sections: cooking and accounting, history and humour, general reference and home repair, theology and philosophy. But the largest section of all may be *fiction*, which leads to my second observation.

People have a lot of **stories** inside of them. Witness the incessant chattering we do inside our heads, or the course of the most casual conversation. Get two of us together and what comes out? Not facts or philosophies or stats so much as ... stories. We may discuss the weather or dissect the world or talk shop, but at the base of our talk are stories - accounts, anecdotes, tales, however un-dramatically told, of what we've done and where we've been and where we're going next. [Granted, "story" is a fuzzy term, indeed all the fuzzier for its current popularity, but compared to the technical term "narrative" or "text" it is so much more common. Who tends to talk, e.g., of "the *narrative* of my life" or bemoan that such-and-such is "the same old text"?] Storytelling is so obvious a feature of everyday life, yet we seldom consider what its obviousness suggests. The average adult educational event, e.g., would be inconceivable without it. Though it can seem a needless digression from the agenda of the day, surely much of the learning that gets done, gets done *through* rather than *despite* the telling of tales: "That reminds me of ..." or "I relate this to the time ...". Given the right climate of safety and acceptance, asked the right questions, people's stories - their "experiences", we could call them - come tumbling out: short stories, long stories; stories about the past and the future, about themselves and others; stories of all kinds of situations and of all degrees of honesty and analysis, artfulness and depth.

It appears there is an intimate connection between story and experience; that we *store* our lives away within us largely by *storying* them; that we transform the events of our existence into available "experiences" to the extent we fashion from them some communicable, and memorable, narrative construction. It is in any case such a possibility that is currently attracting much attention (cf. Bruner, 1987; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1988). "In the end," says one cognitive scientist, "all we have ... are stories and methods of finding and using those stories." Thus, "to understand the nature of intelligence ... we must know how events become stories and how these stories are stored and later retrieved" (Schank, 1990, p. 16).

My third observation is that, ultimately, people identify themselves - to themselves and others - in terms of the particular set of stories they are able to tell. As Roger Schank puts it, "the collection of stories we have compiled is to some extent who we are" (p. 44). This raises the age-old philosophical question concerning the basis of personal identity over time: Is it tied to the continuity of our *body*, ultimately, or of our *memory*? Though the question may be irresolvable as cast, the continuity of memory is clearly a necessary (if not sufficient) condition of our being the person we are. What *kind* of memory though? Semantic memory, episodic memory, *re*pisodic memory ... the latest category conceived in this inquiry is assumed to embrace them all. Called autobiographical memory, it is the memory we have of ourselves over our entire life-time (Rubin, 1990, p. 69). In detailing some of its more spectacular impairments, Oliver Sacks insists that "we have, each of us, a life-story, an inner narrative - whose continuity, whose sense, *is* our lives" (1985, p. 110). Take this story away, or any chunk of it, and we are no longer quite who we are. Same body, same face, same routines, but different story - or no story at all. In the end, perhaps our story is all we have, our most precious resource as age or illness or unemployment takes its toll. Indeed, our story may be synonomous with our "self" (Winquist, 1974), and our self itself a storied construction (Schafer, 1992, p. xvi) ... which leads to my fourth observation.

People's self-stories affect their self-creation. "Stories", says one critic, "are not innocent" (Rosen, 1986, p. 236). Every story has its moral, every tale its point, every anecdote its agenda. Like learning, story is loaded. Tell myself a bad story about myself - *my family was no good, my education was no good, I'll never amount to no good* - and I'll probably have a bad day, especially when it's a day I must interview for a job or deliver a paper to my colleagues. Time and again, options get opened and opportunities get closed because of the story in terms of which I present myself to others. In the view of Jerome Bruner, "a life as lived is inseparable from a life as told" (1987, p. 31). The story I tell is tied to the story I live: I not only *have* a story but somehow *am* a story too, "slowly unfolding to [my] own inner theme and plot" (Bridges, 1980, p. 71). Change that story and you change me, which leads to a corrollary observation: Our personal stories are tied to larger stories around us: the stories of the family and community by which we have been shaped, of the culture and creed, class and gender, in which we are rooted. As these stories twist and turn, so do ours; the limits of our stories are set in part by the nature of theirs. But, there is an empowering flip-side to this: as *our* stories twist and turn, so do *theirs*. Our self-stories affect the self-creation of our world. Change my story and you change my world.

This leads to a fifth observation. People have a tendency to integrate their *many* stories into *one* story. I call it the autobiographical imperative. Through therapy, support groups, journal-keeping, contemplation, confession, or conversation with friends - anything up to and including composing an actual autobiography - it is the drive to get our stories out, to get them straight, to see and critique what *kind* of stories they are; the drive to pull ourselves together, narratively; to tell ourselves and others a story that is "artistically coherent" and "ethically satisfying" (Cupitt, 1991, p. 67), that is deep enough and wide enough to take in the whole of our lives. As philosopher Jonathan Glover says, "self-creation tends to make a life like a **novel** by a single author" (1988, p. 152). Novel, and in both senses of the word: not only is everyone's life *worth* a novel, as Flaubert says, but, however alike on the surface, we are ultimately unique. To enter the presence of another human being is to come under the spell of a unique story world, as different from our own, in feel and structure and style, as is the world of ***Madame Bovary*** from ***The World According to Garp***. This leads to my final observation.

People are different from each other, but not just in their age or size, colour or sex. They are different in terms of their overall *style*, but not just their *life*-style or *learning* style. They are different - why not? - in terms of their *storying* style. To entertain this notion takes us into uncharted territory, the "forbidding country" between story and life (Scholes & Kellogg, 1966), that strange land between fact and fiction into which we stray each time we get lost in some movie or novel, some sit-com or soap. When so many pressing issues face us as adult educators, it may seem an irresponsible diversion to venture into it very far, but should we not at least send out a scouting party for a peek at what lies ahead? In the remaining paragraphs I want to sketch a rough map of the sort of *literary* theory of everyday life to which such a foray can lead - a project similar in intent to the *dramatic* theory of everyday life proposed in the past by Erving Goffman (1959). Specifically, I want to catalogue a few of the questions we open for discussion as soon as we look at life-as-story through the lenses of typical story categories, such as *genre*, *plot*, *character*, and *point of view*.

Questions

Genre. Northrop Frye reminds us that though the *number* of stories in the world is unlimited, the *kinds* of stories - modes, genres - are not; in fact, he restricts them to four: mythic, romantic, tragic, comic, and ironic (1988, p. 54). ***My*** question is this: Might life-stories get told (and lived) according to the same different genres as literary ones? For James Hillman, e.g., (who adds *picaresque* to this list) "the manner in which we tell ourselves what is going on is the *genre* through which events become experiences". Thus, "the way we imagine our lives is the way we are going to go on living our lives" (1975, p. 146). A deep thought, but how often is it not borne out? Two people go through the same basic event, from the same background and toward the same end, even within the same relationship, yet one fashions a tragedy from it and the other a comedy of errors. Writers who focus on the question of personal mythology argue the need to bring these genres to consciousness, to name the story-patterns by which we construct our lives and navigate our world (cf. Feinstein et al, 1988). Carol Pearson, e.g., who identifies six such patterns (*innocent*, *orphan*, *martyr*, *wanderer*, *warrior*, and *magician*), stresses the necessity of "making explicit the myths that govern our lives". Otherwise, "we are hostages to them and can do nothing else but live out their plots to the end" (1986, p. xx). As people go through deep change, might we not describe what transpires not just as perspective transformation or re-framing but as a re-*genre*-ation of their story, a re-storying of their soul?

Plot. Plot, says Paul Riceour, "is what *makes* events *into* a story" (1980, p. 167), which underlines the element of fabrication. Stories, by definition, are fabrications. We make them up: reconstructions in words and images of otherwise raw, uninterpreted events (assuming such exist), never quite "true" in a technical way. This means there is no one way to *tell* a story; hence, for any one world event, the plethora of versions available, depending on the newspaper or network by which it is mediated; the countless accounts for any one occurrence; the myriad of autobiographies for any one life. Plot is also the principle of selection at work in a story, what governs the inclusion of these events and the exclusion of those. Applying plot to lived stories raises the question, then, as to why, out of the endless flow of the stuff of our existence, we let in to our story what we let in and leave out what we leave out, recall what we recall and forget what we forget. What selection is at work in the plotting of our everyday lives? What roses would we start smelling, e.g., if we adjusted our focus just a fraction of a degree? What learnings would we then be open to? What shifts would we experience in the shape of our lives; what changes in the direction of our self-creation? And what is the link - or lag - between development and emplotment (Hillman, 1975, p. 131)?

Plot, as Aristotle's "arrangement of the incidents", is what *happens* in the story. It is what injects movement into the story; what lures us along from beginning to end; what elicits the feeling that we're getting somewhere, that each event is connected causally to all others. Such movement, such allure, such feeling is part of everyone's life. Again, however, people differ. Some have - perhaps can accomodate - less happening in their life-stories than others. Some have a stronger "sense of an ending", a greater curiosity about how it will all turn out, a keener concern that their stories are getting somewhere and the events in them "mean" something. In addition, plots tend to thicken as they unfold, though some more than others. The plot of a novel by Danielle Steele may be slightly (if fashionably) slimmer, e.g., than that of one by Margaret Drabble. But might people not differ in a similar way: in the number of sub-plots that get woven into their story as they grow, in the layers of meaning that accrue, in what lurks untold between the lines, and in the characters - including their own - whose fortunes their story must embrace?

Character. Character is another whole story again. Here too people differ, and here too the questions are enticing. Are some people ultimately "flat" characters, e.g., while others are "round" (a familiar if simplistic distinction from the literary field)? Furthermore, how is our character - in the sense not of morality but of how we characterize ourselves in the midst of our life-story - related to our "personality", or our personality "type"? And are we consistently the *main* character in our life-story, or only a minor one? Might we not in fact have a whole *cast* of characters within us? If so, what is implied about the possibility, or desirability, of a single "identity" in the Eriksonian sense? As well, what kind of characters do we identify with in the stories to which we are drawn in movies or novels, and how do their natures or conflicts confirm or conflict with our own?

Furthermore, just as we might characterize ourselves, is it possible that we characterize others too - even those closest to us; that we transform them into characters in *our* life-story, caricatures even, crude "story-o-types" compared to the full souls they may be on their own? Moreover, might some people - women, e.g. - tend to tell and to live stories that are more focussed on character than on plot, on relationships than on action, achievement, or work? If we accept that "the self, self-creation, and self-consciousness are profoundly different for women" (Friedman, 1988, p. 34), then might not life-genres be dependent not only on genetics but on gender as well: on the general scripts which - for both women and men - society pushes, or allows, us to live (cf. Heilbrun, 1988)?

Point of view. A discussion of genre, plot, and character leads, eventually, to a discussion of the relationship between story and story*teller*. If we accept the possibility that we are, simultaneously, not only *author* and *narrator*, but also *protagonist* and *reader* of our own life-novel, then once more we catch a glimpse of the vast array of ways in which, story-wise, we differ. Might some of us relate to the story of our life primarily as *readers*, e.g., forever wondering where it is going next or what are its principal themes or what is the meaning of this event in the present relative to others preceding it in the past or following it in the future? Or might some of us be essentially *protagonists*, so immersed in the central action of our story - in the conflict or *agon* - that any analysis, any reading, seems a waste of our energy and time? On the other hand, might some of us be basically *narrators*, never more involved in our life-stories than when we are telling them - relaying play-by-play to whomever will listen the scarcely digested events of our existence, able to make so much of so frequently little? ["Stories happen" says Henry James, "to those who can tell them."] And, as narrators all of us at some point, how "reliable" might we be with respect to the life we are narrating: how omniscient, how detached, how ironic, how identified with one character within us as opposed to another (Booth, 1983)? Finally, what of ourselves as *authors* of our stories? How much of our self-authorship do we normally "squander" and why (Polster, 1987, p. 7), and what is entailed in our taking on more?

Conclusion

Eventually, all analogies break down. Any metaphor must be used in moderation, and life-as-story is no exception. Clearly, it cannot tell us the whole story about learning and development. But it may tell us more than we have hitherto thought.

In terms of ***theory***, it has key implications for our conception of the continual re-working of personal experience (past, present, and future) that is integral to learning and development, and central to social interaction. It pushes us to consider the links between language and literature and life, the rhetoric and forms of self-telling, and the range of storying styles - as well as how these change from culture to culture, gender to gender, life-stage to life-stage. It also gives us a fresh take on the dynamics of self-deception, secrecy, and silence; gossip and prejudice; nostalgia and regret; friendship and intimacy. In terms of ***research***, at least of the qualitative variety, it honours the textual complexity of the entire interview process, any "data" from which is inseparable from the "story" of a person's life - one composed afresh in the course of the interview itself (cf. Mishler, 1988). In terms of ***practice***, it sensitizes us to the fine line between story and life, increasing our respect for the power of stories generally (heard, read, or viewed) to colour our world; to "instruct and delight"; to either emancipate us (Greene, 1990) or entrench us more stubbornly in our preferred modes of interpreting our world. It also enables us to see the counselling/mentoring side of adult education as helping people to re-story their lives and their relationships, to author a more complete *self*-story and thus *world*-story, or simply to *find* such a story in the first place (cf. Daloz, 1986; Mezirow, 1978; Witherell & Noddings, 1991).

In the end, we have only just begun to explore the many intriguing questions that concern "the fictional side of human nature" (Hillman, 1975, p. 128). We have now raised the lid, however, of the box in which they lie. We have little choice but to open it all the way.

References

Bok, S. (1984). *Secrets: On the ethics of concealment and revelation*. New York: Vintage.

Booth, W. (1983). *The rhetoric of fiction*. (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Bridges, W. (1980). *Transitions: Making sense of life's changes*. Toronto: Addison-Wesley.

Brundage, D. H., & MacKeracher, D. (1980). *Adult learning principles and their application to program planning*. Ontario Ministry of Education.

Bruner, J. S. (1987). Life as narrative. *Social Research*. *54*(1), 11-32.

Connelly, E. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, *19*(5), 2-14.

Cupitt, D. (1991). *What is a story?* London: SCM.

Daloz, L. A. (1986). *Effective teaching and mentoring: Realizing the transformational power of adult learning experiences*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Feinstein, D., Krippner, S., & Granger, D. (1988). Mythmaking and human development. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, *28*(3), 23-50.

Foucault, M. (1988). *Politics, philosophy, culture: interviews and other writings, 1977-1984*. New York: Routledge.

Friedman, S. S. (1988). Women's autobiographical selves: Theory and practice. In S. Benstock (Ed.), *The private self: Theory and practice of women's autobiographical writings* (pp. 34-62). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina.

Frye, N. (1988). *On education*. Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside.

Glover, J. (1988). *I: The philosophy and psychology of personal identity*. London: Penguin.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Greene, M. (1990). The emancipatory power of literature. In J. Mezirow (Ed.) *Fostering critical reflections in adulthood* (pp. 251-268). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Heilbrun, C. (1988). *Writing a woman's life*. New York: Ballantine.

Hillman, J. (1975). The fiction of case history: A round. In J. B. Wiggins (Ed.), *Religion as story* (pp. 123-173). New York: Harper & Row.

Mezirow, J. (1978). Perspective transformation. *Adult Education*, *28*(2), 100-110.

Mishler, E. (1986). *Research interviewing: Context and narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Pearson, C. S. (1989). *The hero within: Six archetypes we live by*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

Polkinghorne, D. (1988). *Narrative knowing and the human sciences*. Albany: SUNY.

Polster, E. (1987). *Every person's life is worth a novel*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Ricouer, P. (1980). Narrative time. In W. J. T. Mitchell (Ed.), *On narrative* (pp. 165-186). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Rosen, H. (1986). The importance of story. *Language Arts*, *63*(3), 226-237.

Rubin, D. (Ed.). (1986). *Autobiographical memory*. New York: Cambridge University.

Sacks, O. (1985). *The man who mistook his wife for a hat, and other clinical tales*. New York: Summit.

Schafer, R. (1992). *Retelling a life: Narrative and dialogue in psychoanalysis*. New York: BasicBooks.

Schank, R. C., (1990). *Tell me a story: A new look at real and artificial memory*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Scholes, R. & Kellogg, R. (1966). *The nature of narrative*. New York: Oxford.

Winquist, C. E. (1974). The act of storytelling and the self's homecoming. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, *42*(1), 101-113.

Witherell, C., & Noddings, N. (Ed.) (1991). *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education*. New York: Teachers College.

A FEMINIST FRAMEWORK FOR POLITICAL ACTION ON PEACE AND GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION IN RADICAL ADULT ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg

ABSTRACT: The integration of peace and global transformation studies from feminist perspectives in radical adult environmental education can play an important role in bringing about a more just and sustainable future. Recently proposed means by which we can continue to work in this area are proposed in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) Global Forum NGO treaties, one of which is Environmental Education For Sustainable Societies and Global Responsibility initiated by the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE).

L'ACTION POLITIQUE EN MATIERE DE PAIX ET DE TRANSFORMATION GLOBALE, EFFECTUEE DANS UN CONTEXTE FEMINISTE ET PORTEE SUR L'EDUCATION RADICALE DES ADULTES A L'ENVIRONNEMENT.

L'intégration des études sur la paix à celles qui traitent de la transformation globale, effectuée dans des contextes féministes et portees sur l'éducation radicale des adultes relative à l'environnment peut jouer un role essentiel au tissage d'un avenir plus equitable et plus durable. Des mesures permettant d'atteindre ces objevtifs sont proposee dans les traités du forum global des ONG qui s'est deroulé à Rio en meme temps que la Conference des nations unies sur l'environnement et le developpement (CNVED). Parmi ces traités celle qui nous concerne le plus directement est intitulée l'éducation environmental pour des societes durable et une responsibilite globale.

A FEMINIST FRAMEWORK FOR POLITICAL ACTION ON PEACE AND GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION IN RADICAL ADULT ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

I believe that the integration of peace and global transformation studies from feminist perspectives in radical adult environmental education can play an important role as a source of conceptual and policy leadership, of consciousness raising and practical innovation in bringing about a more just and sustainable future.

This paper argues that there is a close relationship between radical adult education, equality, peace, social and economic justice and ecological concerns. It also argues that understanding patriarchy, provides a framework for understanding power relationships and domination in our societies, North, South, East and West, and that these relationships are so important that they require a rightful place in communities and institutions of learning, particularly in adult environmental education. The years of preparation leading up to and since the **United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)** in Rio be Janiero, Brazil in June 1992 have in the past and continue to be a focus for such programs.

The interdisciplinary nature of adult environmental education makes it an important place for such learning and it was this understanding that led to the development of the treaty, **Environmental Education For Sustainable Societies and Global Responsibility at the Global Forum at UNCED (EESSGR)**[1]. This work was stimulated by the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and is part of an international effort to promote these principles because such links are not as yet visible in many course descriptions or documentation at graduate levels in universities or in many community based programs[2]. This treaty is also addressed to social movements, professional and popular educators, the media, scientific and religious organizations, etc. While there may be those who disagree with these challenges, I believe that there is an urgent need for and interest in these issues by a large numbers of people in many sites of adult education in Canada and indeed the World[3].

This presentation highlights some theory, knowledge and action relevant to a feminist framework for political action in peace and global transformation in adult environmental education.

A PEACE AND GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION RATIONALE

In recent years, the framework we have come to call peace and global education has evolved into an integrative study of equality, ecology[4], peace, social justice, human and species rights, economic democracy and alternative futures. In contrast to the frequent traditional separation of studies in each of these disciplines, this focus follows an interdisciplinary and integrative mode of analysis, theory, research and practice. Its proponents, of which I am one, maintain that the complexities of contemporary societies and the world itself can no longer be adequately understood through segmented examination, but require a comprehensive approach. It is clear to us that no individual academic or other discipline can adequately encompass the issues and sectors of activity which transform the world, its ecology and its people. Thus the very nature of ecological questions cannot be separated from power relationships and domination which impact directly and indirectly on security, development, economics and social justice. They require a global perspective that can demonstrate the causal interaction among the variables, hitherto considered separate.

The fundamental educational philosophy of Global Education is wholistic and transformative and consequently requires critical examination of social values and behaviour. It demands radically new ways of thinking and acting in order to break away from current educational practices which maintain and legitimate the contemporary social order and practices which global human and ecological systems can no longer sustain[5].

British educators, Greig, Selby and Pike refer to global education as "a proliferation of educations" which include: development education, environmental education, human rights education and peace education. Implicit in these is anti-racist, anti-sexist and multicultural education. They recognize that while each "education" has its own particular features and starting points, their concerns are finally mutual and overlapping[6]. Within them, fundamental concepts of patriarchal power, political understanding and structural analysis must be addressed.

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR GLOBAL STUDIES IN RADICAL ADULT ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

For over a decade, feminists have made connections between violence against and exploitation of women (and others similarly marginalized), violence to the earth, the economic violence of structural adjustment and the violence of militarism in a world of patriarchal values. Race, class and culture have significant implications as such frameworks of domination, and oppression stem from patriarchal institutional and personal values and practice[7]. The resulting unjust social, economic and environmental costs of corporate exponential growth and profit are in evidence all over the world and they have forced us to examine and redefine our notions of power and accountability[8]. It is apparent to many women and a growing number of men that recognizing and challenging these power relationships are important first steps to overcoming them. It is my premise that integrating these links from feminist perspectives in adult environmental education is necessary because often dominant theoretical frameworks, therein, do not include gendered power relationships linking environment, development and militarism[9].

Environmental politics of social transformation also contribute to the development of a theory of radical adult education. Peter Mayo considers such a theory as one which affirms the idea of pedagogy as a site of cultural politics, the political nature of all educational interventions and calls for socially transformative adult education initiatives that focus upon change at the roots of systems[10].

Mayo proposes that an alternate radical pedagogy theory should be grounded in a critique of mainstream educational systems and assumptions. In using a language of critique, we must understand a process of analysis which ties educational systems to systemic and structural forms of domination in the wider society.

Most of us engaged in this notion of radical transformation social movements do not confine ourselves to dealing only with symptoms. We understand that in market economies, most educational and civic institutions perform to the demands of "capitalist rationality and the imperatives of the market system" ie just about anything goes if it makes a profit (and if certain state or private interests control and influence it, it can take a big loss for which taxpayers will foot the bill). Rather than providing tools for critical thinking and transformative action, institutions are often reproductive sites that smoothly provide the knowledge, skills and social relations necessary for the functioning of the capitalist economy. Like the work place and the realm of mass culture, they have become a device for economic and cultural reproduction[11]. We need to question and assess the extent to which education is politicised in our systems and expose it as relating to dominant power interests and configurations.

THEORY AND PRACTICE, WAYS AND MEANS

Below are what I consider to be some useful theoretical and practical considerations of radical social transformation for the survival of the planet and all species on it, using adult education critical thinking concepts. They apply to both the formal and non formal sectors.

Metchild Hart[12] believes if education is understood as a means of peaceful change, which rejects the individual as well as social status quo by drawing out latent possibilities, adult education cannot simply hide behind the mantle of alleged "realism". It is not realistic to support the current destructive forms of production and development, nor to try to adjust people to unhealthy conditions of their work...Instead of simply adjusting people to hierarchal divided realities of work, adult educators should question how we should work in a manner that contributes to the maintenance and improvement of life rather than profit. The question of how we should work is also the question of how we should live. Our ways and means must be compatible..feminist ecological thought is particularly promising since it proposes a changed view of nature and our dependent relationship to her..

An acceptance of these ideas has a number of educational consequences in her opinion. She asks what would a population that is concerned about preserving the natural conditions of life have to know? What would it have to learn in light of the level of ignorance, obliviousness or outright denial[13]. These are educational challenges, for not only do we need to know how our way of life, our technologies and material wealth consume a grossly disproportionate amount of natural resources and create destruction and misery in other parts of the world, we need to learn ecological principles and ways to reduce waste and destruction[14].

Kathleen Weiler also provides critical theory in education which illustrates how gender is socially constructed within institutional and ideological technologies of power [15]. She too views power as both the medium and the expression of wider structural relations and social forms as well as matrixes of constraint and possibility. Weiler emphasises the need to be clear about the specific meanings of race, class power and gender for people in differing relationships of control and power in a society dominated by capitalism, racism and patriarchy. She advocates locating ourselves in these complex webs of relationships and then attempt to act at whatever sites we find ourselves, in ways that will encourage resistance to oppression and the building of a counter-hegemony through critical understanding. Resistance, she points out, is usually informal, disorganized and apolitical, but counter-hegemony implies a more critical, theoretical understanding and is expressed in organized and active political opposition and alternatives[16].

THE IMPORTANCE OF CRITICAL MEDIA ANALYSIS IN ORGANIZING OPPOSITION AND ALTERNATE PARADIGMS

> If newspapers and TV decided to publicize ozone destruction, global heating, deforestation, species extinction, the threat of nuclear war.. as they publicize aids, they could educate, inspire, coerce, and persuade people to save the planet. Corporations who own the media are out to make money and to control the public through a perpetuation of ignorance not to change[17].

Here we need to explore media implications for radical adult environmental educators. UNCED, according to many critics was not, primarily about environmental protection. Eighty per cent of government agreements focused instead on ways of promoting:
1) acceleration of growth world-wide in all industrial sectors
2) increased levels of consumption within and among countries
3) higher levels of productivity with the possible closure of smaller so called inefficient operations
4) higher levels of export and trade through fewer trade barriers[18]. Most mainstream media sought to assure the public that despite the enormous environment and development catastrophes in the world, governments and business will solve the world's ecological problems by more growth and development but this time they'd call it "green"[19].

Intrinsically related and frequently marginalized by the mainstream media as well is an analysis of the roots of environment/ development problems as seen by many radical educators and activists. By addressing sectoral problems such as water, toxic waste, habitat etc..without addressing structural causes such as the role of transnational corporations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and without serious discussions on the South's debt or poor trade terms, government conferences such as UNCED will not stop the forces destroying both the environment and the lives of a large part of humanity[20].

Noam Chomsky refers to our illusions of freedom of the press as a characteristic technique, "brainwashing under freedom[21]". The technique is to encourage debate but to set the limits and constraints on opinions in such a way that all sides of the debate share the same tacit assumptions of the propaganda system. These assumptions are almost never stated[22]. Regarding the US: "A crucial part of the ideology is that you're allowed to criticize Congress, the president etc. You're allowed to say they're all crooks. But you're not allowed to say that the corporate system is at the heart of it[23]." According to him, the more the debate, the better the propaganda system is served because the tacit assumptions are more deeply embedded - what he refers to as "a kind of fake dissent"[24].

The late adult environmental educator, dian marino suggested that mass media patterns and practices are significant impediments to education for social transformation and are sometimes even unintentionally reproduced in the process of constructing alternate or popular education materials[25]. In working at participatory political education aimed at empowerment and action toward social transformation, she cautioned that the foundation of learning is the ordinary and real problems people experience; that learning is not neutral, and that collective processes of production are a significant aspect of construction of alternate interpretation and organizing action. The intention of the educator should be to see the world from the point of view of the less empowered and to represent that view in the words and images of those people[26]. This was certainly the spirit of the alternate treaties at the UNCED Global Forum[27].

The EESSGR Treaty contains several sections: an introduction, some principles of environmental education for equitable and sustainable societies, a plan of action, coordination, monitoring and evaluating systems, groups to be involved, and a background to the treaty2[28]. It states "The treaty, as in education, is a dynamic process and should therefore promote reflection, debate and amendments". It's signatories from all over the world are "devoted to protecting life on earth and recognize the central role of education in shaping values and social action..commit themselves to a process of educational transformation aimed at involving ourselves, our communities and nations in creating equitable and sustainable societies..we seek to bring new hope to our small, troubled, but still beautiful planet.

Of course, there can be ambiguities and controversies in our different themes of work and sites of practice. While there are no fixed recipes or methodologies that could be termed "universal" in teaching/learning/researching about global transformation in either institutions or communities, there are some generally agreed upon approaches relevant to radical adult environmental education. Some features implicated in this understanding include that it:

* be both institution and community based,
* be connected to social movements and political parties,
* relates to equality (power relationships), ethics and ecology,

* has a critical analysis of consumerism and growth,
* evaluates the prominent role of the media in shaping desires, creating wants and needs, purveying information and images of the dominant culture,
* contains languages of critique and possibility - hegemony[29], resistance, counter-hegemony
* recognizes that we can all be agents for social transformation.

CLOSING THOUGHTS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

In this paper I have attempted to illustrate that the integration of peace and global transformation studies from feminist perspectives in radical adult environmental education can play an important role as a source of conceptual and policy leadership, of consciousness raising and practical innovation in bringing about a more just and sustainable future. Recently proposed means by which we can continue international cooperation in our ongoing work are proposed in the UNCED Global Forum NGO treaties [30]. We also need to share our strength and energy with each other.

According to Charlotte Bunch, when committed people burn out, despair and give up, it is often because the forces against us are strong and because our theoretical framework does not provide a sense of how our individual activities contribute to the significant victories in the future. We need to have a larger vision of our work in the context of thousands of activities and projects moving our agenda forward. It is important not to work in isolation in order to avoid fragmentation and discontinuity. We need to know what is happening in other communities, share resources, and support each other emotionally..she sees feminist activism as one of the most powerful forces in the future for the transformation of society to a different perspective on all global issues[31].

Proponents of global transformation often take heart from the following quote by from Margaret Mead:

> Never doubt that a small number of committed citizens can change the course of history. Indeed it's the only thing that ever has.

ENDNOTES:

1. There were two separate meetings - the UNCED or government conference site was at Rio Centro some 40 kilometres away from The Global Forum location in Flamingo Park, a peoples' park on the beach close to the downtown area. The two sites were far apart not only in distance but in philosophy and actions. While government negotiations generally met the lowest common denominator often resulting in watered down conventions in order to arrive at agreements, NGO's from all over the world forged alternate treaties with visionary principles and proposed action agendas.

Citizens Alternate Treaties were developed on : Indigenous Peoples, Militarism, Energy, Racism, Education, Toxic and Nuclear Wastes, The Earth Charter, Youth, Communication, Debt, Alternate Economic Models, Trade and Sustainable Development, Transnational Corporations, Population, Environment and Development, Climate Change, Forests, Biodiversity, Technology Bank, Urbanization, Labour, Consumption, Fresh Water, Food Security, People of the Americas, Sustainable Agriculture, Fisheries, Scrublands, Code of Conduct for NGO's, Cooperation and Sharing of Resources, NGO Global Decision Making and several others.

An important policy and action document influencing many of the treaties was the Women's Action Agenda 21 created at the Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, Miami, November 1991.

2. see Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, A Feminist Framework for Political Action on Global Education in Environmental Studies; The York University Faculty of Environmental Studies (FES) as a Case Study, 1992. FES York University, North York, Ontario.

3. See Background to the EESSGR

4. Ecology is defined as 1) the study of relationships between living organisms and their environment 2) the set of relationships of a particular organism with its environment. (Collins English Dictionary).

5. From the Ontario Institute of Studies in Education (OISE) Seminar on Global Studies, Course Description, Winter 1991

6. Sue Greig, Graham Pike, David Selby, Earthrights: Education as if the Planet Really Mattered. 1987, 1990, Kogan Page, London.

Selby and Pike chair the International Institute of Global Studies based a the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto.

7. Pam Mc Allister, Reweaving the Web of Life, 1982, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia. Betty Reardon, Sexism and the War System, 1985, Teachers College Press, Columbia Teachers College, Columbia University, N.Y. Elizabeth Dodson Gray, Patriarchy as a Conceptual

Trap (Roundtable Press 1982, Lyla Hoffman "Feminist Education; the Key to Peace" in the "Militarism and Education; Racism, Sexism and Militarism" issue of the Bulletin of Interracial Books for Children, Vol. 13, Nos. 6&7, New York. Birgit Brock-Utne 1985, Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective. Pergamon Press New York, Oxford, Sydney. Elise Boulding, 1990, Building A Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World. Syracuse University Press Syracuse N.Y. Charlotte Bunch, 1987, Passionate Politics: Feminist Theory in Action. St. Martins Press, New York. Judith Plant, editor, 1989, Healing the Wounds: The Promise of Ecofeminism. Between the Lines, Toronto. Carolyn Merchant, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution. 1990 edition, Harper and Row, Toronto. Dreaming the Dark, Magic, Sex and Politics, 1982, Beacon Press, Boston. Maria Mies, Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour, 1989 version, Zed Books, London.

8. In recent years, there have been numerous studies and reports criticizing commercial exponential growth and its damaging effects on the planet. The World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland, 1987) was one such study although its recommendations for actions call for modifying the ways and means of economic growth not stopping it.

Redefining Wealth and Progress: The Caracas Report on Alternate Development Indicators, 1990 The Other Economic Summit (TOES), the Bootstrap Press, edited by Hazel Henderson, an economist who proposes alternative economic frameworks in which people are rebuilding environmental and economic systems in their own communities.

Marilyn Waring, 1988, If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics, Harper Collins, Toronto

Daly Herman, Cobb, John. For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment and a Sustainable Future. Beacon Press, Boston, 1989

UNCED and Free Trade, Prepared for the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 2 March - 3 April 1992. New York. Greenpeace International.

9. Writing from feminist perspectives in mainstream global environment and peace literature is still rare. For example, Peace Education News (No. 12) contains numerous fine articles and reviews including "Ten Quick Ways to Evaluate Global Materials" by the Consortium on Peace, Peace Research and Development (COPRED) and Family Violence In A Patriarchal Culture: A Challenge to Our Way of Living, but it does not make links between them.

10. Peter Mayo, Synthesizing Gramsci and Freire - Possibilities for a Theory of Radical Adult Education, 1992. forthcoming: International Journal of Lifelong Education Vol. 13.

11. Henry Giroux, Introduction to Freire in Paulo Freire, The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation, 1985. Bergin and Garvey, Ma..

12. Mechthild U. Hart, Working and Educating for Life: Feminist and International Perspectives on Adult Education, 1991. Routledge, London.

13. I am amazed at the ignorance, obliviousness or denial of most people in the Toronto area of the reality of the harmful nuclear presence in their community. This has been a "fact of life (or death)" for almost two decades and seems to have become an accepted permanent fixture in Ontario. 1993 may be a "moment of Grace", not because of citizen's actions but because of the 36 billion dollars debt Ontario Hydro has accumulated largely because of the Darlington reactor complex' cost overruns, repairs to the aging and troublesome reactors at the Bruce and Pickering sites, and general mismanagement and denial of problems at the planning and administrative levels.

14. Ibid. Hart. It is also important to note that the ndustrialized North while containing 20% of the world's people monopolises 80% of the world's resources (World Watch Institute, 1991)

15. Kathleen Weiler, Women Teaching for Change: Gender, Class and Power, 1988. Bergin and Garvey, New York.

16. Ibid. Weiler.

17. Helen Caldicott, M.D., If You Love This Planet: a plan to heal the earth, W.W. Norton, New York, 1992.

18. Unpublished letter to the Globe and Mail from Lucien Royer, a Member of Canada's Core Delegation to the Earth Summit and Representative of the Canadian Labour Congress, Edmonton. He is a long term environmental and labour activist from Alberta. The Tribune, June 29, 1992.

19. To understand such limitations, see Jerry Mander, In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations. 1992, Sierra Club, San Francisco.

Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg, "Constituting the World": The Globe and Mail Coverage of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) as a Reflection of Dominant Ideological Frameworks in the News. Unpublished paper, OISE 1992

20. An example of this was most mainstream reporting of UNCED which generally included a multitude of issues while ignoring unequal power relationships and the structural roots of environment and development problems, including dissent of many governments and most NGO's over:
a) militarism (including the nuclear fuel chain) as the largest single polluter in the world,
b) the power and influence of transnational corporations and the associated advertising/public relations apparatus,
c) articulate informed criticism of exponential corporate growth as the answer to the world's problems and proposals of community based and controlled alternatives as described in many of the citizens' treaties .

21. see Noam Chomsky, Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies, 1989, CBC, Toronto.

22. For example, no one actually states that the U.S. has a right to use force and violence to achieve its objectives, but that is the assumption accepted by the mass media and the debate is carried on within those boundaries, so the doves accept the assumption and say the government can't get away with it in this case and the hawks accept the assumption and say it can. (Chomsky in the Politics if Information, CBC Ideas Series).

23. Noam Chomsky in Rolling Stone, May 28, 1992.

24. Ibid. Chomsky, Necessary Illusions.

25. dian marino, RE:FRAMING; HEGEMONY AND ADULT PRACTICES, Doris Marshall Institute, Toronto.

26. Ibid. dian marino.

27. There were many commonalities in the alternate treaties. They almost uniformly called for local decision making and control, equity, the need for peace, tackling poverty and affluence in the South and the North together, global economic reforms; an end to the external debt and structural adjustment as well as the market force model of economic development which results in maldevelopment which is destroying people and the planet, the need to democratise GATT and other such institutions, to avoid strengthening the World Bank and the power of transnational corporations, the prevention of toxic and nuclear hazards, the need for education etc. With this process also came ideas for improved communications with NGO's via electronic communication training. NGO NET, Peacenet, Web and other networks were part of a worldwide network training program where banks of computers were set up for NGO's to learn on.

28. It can be obtained from the ICAE Environmental Education Programme, Moema Viezzer, Coordinator, c/o Rede Mulher, Caixa Postal 4651, 01061, Sao Paulo, SP Brazil. Tel (5511) 627050, Fax (5511) 8713457. and ICAE, 720 Bathurst Street, Suite 500, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2R4. Tel (416) 588 1211, Fax. (416) 588 5725.

29. Hegemony here is meant in the Gramscian sense of persuasion from above and consent from below.

30. This has been the history of the group, Women for a Just and Healthy Planet (Toronto) founded prior to UNCED.

At the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) the new Centre for Community and Global Transformation Studies- integrating Movements, Knowledges and Pactices - is attempting to follow along these lines.

31. Ibid. Bunch and Pollack.

SELF-SURVEILLANCE AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Carol Schick
College of Education University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Abstract: This study is based on research conducted in 1991 on the status of women at a large Canadian organization. The study reports on the normalyzing effects of panoptic vision on feminist research methodology. Even when the research group is given considerable power to conduct a vigorous review of programs, the group's assessment is still susceptible to a type of self-surveillance.

Résumé: Une recherche, dirigée à une grande organisation canadienne pour le status des femmes en 1991, est la base de cette étude. Les actions régulières d'une vision panoptic suite à la méthodologie de recherche feministe sont présentées dans cette étude. L'évaluation du groupe est sensible à une surveillance de soi, même quand le groupe de recherche a un pouvoir considérable pour la conduite d'une revue des programmes.

In this paper I explore some issues inherent in a research project I did on a contractual basis beginning in 1991 for a large Canadian organization. The organization employs and directly serves thousands of people, and like most other large Canadian organizations, this one is hierarchical in structure with white males almost exclusively occupying the top management positions. In the pages that follow, I will be addressing the topic of feminist research methodology and how difficult it is to carry out such a methodology in large organizations.

I was hired to help collect and analyze the research for a committee that was charged with assessing the status of women at the organization. The job was of personal and professional interest to me and no one was more surprised or disappointed than I when the project ran out of money and my contract ended. The problems I encountered come from the core of the research question and involve both method and feminist methodology.

My purpose is to discuss some problematic issues around feminist methodology, to discuss and offer a critique of how this methodology was perceived and carried out between two feminist groups. I think that such a critique has value in moving forward our understanding of the feminist agenda and of showing the difficulty of proceeding with feminist methodology at all.

One of my main tasks as a researcher was to analyze contributions made by people who worked in the organization in a discussion about the status of women. Right from the job interview, the committee and I were in agreement that a feminist research methodology was the appropriate process. I was acutely aware that how I carried through the methodology would have a direct bearing on the outcome and that the level of questioning I engaged in and the assumptions I permitted at the outset would irreversibly set my course for the next several months. Differing assumptions may not have seemed so divergent at the beginning but when traced along their paths to logical conclusions were actually far apart in consequence. For example, the committee had its own starting place and began with such questions as "What needs to be changed regarding the status of women?" and "What recommendations are there to bring this about?" Questions I had to ask to satisfy my own understanding were ones like "Why is this important?" "Who cares about the outcome?" All of these question are important, but they set us on different paths of discovery. While it was not my prerogative to choose the research question, it was up to me to decide where to stand in reading the responses.

To clarify my position I will briefly sketch basic assumptions of feminist research methodology which, I hasten to add, are not unorthodox or extreme. For one thing I assume that gender will be treated as a category, that men and women will be treated separately to see how they are the same and how they differ. Second, feminist research methodology does not claim neutrality or objectivity. It eschews the notion of objectivity that is the cornerstone of some research methodologies. Objectivity may be desirable in some circumstances and be a condition that researchers approximate, but it is a condition that is, in the end, impossible to achieve and not in all conditions is it indeed desirable. Finally, the gathering of data is not just a function of our senses. We all use subjective and intuitive responses such as in deciding whom to interview or how to interpret what we hear. We are using more than our five senses when along with understanding what people say, we also use our knowledge of a situation to know what they mean. Feminist research methodologies are not just about methods or how to do things. They are about one's epistemology, orientation, and basic assumptions about what is worth knowing.

The knowledge for the final report would rely on written contributions from women at the organization. What I regarded as my main work was an ethnomethodological process of examining the 150 contributions and interviews that had been gathered prior to my assignment as researcher. I used a content analysis and developed categories according to the question "What is happening to the women?" When the committee saw the categories, however, they said that the work was too subjective and too interpretive. But the evidence itself was horrific. Women reported tremendous injustices in their work, both subtle and blatant, on-going and episodic, affecting their well being and careers in emotional and material ways. The information was, indeed, anything but objective and I felt that reporting it any other way would have been a distortion and violation of the data and the women. What the women were saying was corroborated in much of the literature on women in organizations.

So it was with some dismay that I heard the committee say the work was too subjective, that I'd done too much personal interpreting and that the paraphrasing of the women's stories and the categories of meaning were not really what the committee wanted to know.

They instructed me to go through the contributions again and, individually and singly, to itemize everything that women identified as not working in the organization and to list their recommendations for improvement. I objected that many problems were systemic and not so easily identified in a phrase; the things that got mentioned the most were only the easiest to name and not necessarily the most important. I did as I was told, however, and of course got a much different picture of the status of the women compared to the first effort.

I would like to relate these incidents to one of several theories that could be used to explain what happened during the research analysis. I have chosen Michel Foucault's explanation of the panopticon as used in prison architecture for purposes of non-violent control of prisoners (Foucault, 1977). The reference to the panopticon makes sense to me in the context of my research and is a useful metaphor for explaining some of the incidents that accompanied my work.

This system of observation and perpetual assessment produces results whose effects can be applied in two main ways in this study. On the assumption of total surveillance, that is, that one is always being watched, restrictive and conformist behaviour follows. Second, because breaks in surveillance cannot be detected, total surveillance is always assumed even when no one is watching. The consequence of this is that the subjects act as if they are being watched at all times, curtailing and supervising their own behaviour, taking on the observation roles of the those exercising the power. The subjects engage in lateral and self-surveillance by accepting the norms of the powerful, whether or not those in power are watching.

I see that feminist research has many on-lookers, observers, and detractors. I suggest that visible detractors and, when they're not around, that invisible tradition militate to constrain the research projects carried out by feminists. It would hardly be surprising for feminists to practice a kind of self-surveillance over their feminist research methodologies, sometimes wondering if we're being too radical, too outrageous, too demanding.

The self-surveillance of which Foucault speaks applies to this research. In the first place, in spite of the fact that the committee was charged with describing the status of women, they did it in such a way that would objectify the women and thereby reduce the impact of the women's stories. The management had in the past resisted requests for change regarding women by finding fault with the research methods that overwhelmingly indicated that change was needed. A feminist research methodology, therefore, would surely be rejected, especially if the conclusions were particularly condemning of the organization. The committee under surveillance contributed to the normalizing function of the panoptic vision.

Formally, the report was written for only one person, but informally it was the entire hierarchy that would scrutinize the report. The community's history of dealing with other initiatives and research brought forward by women was not encouraging. Always there was some reason for dismissing the reports as not being sound enough, of having too big an uncertainty factor--even when the inequalities reported were far bigger than any uncertainty in the report. The committee's normalizing of its research methods, therefore, assured that the effects of power were carried through to the most minute and distant of relations within the organization.

Foucault says that power is successfully exerted by panoptic vision as it is applied to the very texture of an organized structure. It is not through the brilliance of leadership that this phenomenon operates. Rather the full force of power and surveillance operates by objectifying all those on whom the power and surveillance is applied. The committee accomplished the organization's purpose of maintaining objectivistic research methodologies as normal. The committee, mindful of its appearance before management, controlled the women's stories and evidence and asked me to report them in a more acceptable, impersonal, quantifiable form.

I can think of a few reasons why the committee took the direction it did. First of all they were under the surveillance of and accountable to the administration and were consequently anxious about deadlines. They wanted to be seen as credible and responsible women who knew how to meet goals. Second, all of the women on the committee had worked hard to promote the status of women and were well aware of the resistance that was building. They had first hand knowledge of women's efforts to promote change and were aware of the objections, stalling and ridicule their recommendations were likely to meet.

In effect, the committee and I were operating under separate purposes: I wanted to honour the data and the women who contributed it by representing it in all its strength. The committee was concerned with getting their recommendations past an indifferent and sometimes hostile community. Both are worthwhile aims.

I would like to describe a second example of how the committee and I differed in our interpretations of the meaning of feminist research methodologies.

This example revolves around some initial questions in data gathering. From the beginning, influential committee members insisted the focus be kept away from women telling their stories. They were very familiar with women's stories and felt that the larger community would become impatient by hearing yet again women's tales of woe. The questions posed by the committee to the community at large were these: 1) what is working well? 2) what needs changing? 3) what recommendations do you have?

Of the 150 who responded, a few women objected strongly to this line of investigation, saying that sometimes a woman has no analysis; she only knows that there is something terribly wrong and that if she has to be able to say just what that is, then she won't be able to speak. The ones who are the most in need of speaking out will not find a forum in which to hear themselves. It comes as no surprise that professional and managerial women were over-represented in the contributions in proportion to their numbers in the organization.

In other words, the women had to have the right words and be able to place them in the right order according to the organizational framework before they could talk about what was wrong with the status of women. Dorothy Smith calls this official kind of response an ideological grammar whose rules and procedures are derived from how we describe the story in a text. "Sociological procedures legislate a reality rather than discover one" (1990). The authorized versions would be used to describe women's experience.

Smith describes the power of the narrative outside ruling power relations. She says "Beginning to speak from a site of consciousness that had not already been made over and subdued was a violent, exciting and extraordinary consequential moment" (1990, p. 200). The ideological grammar of the questions makes over, subdues and objectifies the relations of ruling rather than exposing them. Statements made in the ideological mode "obliterate the structures of power [that sustain] their coherence and authority" (1990, p. 203).

For example, a woman's story of how she has been inappropriately treated by a male supervisor is quite different from the words of an official report stating that a woman has been harassed. The difference between the narrative and the mediated account is significant in at least two ways. First, in the official account of what happened the narrator loses the power to do the telling, and she along with the man also become objects in the story. Second, the official version which objectifies both characters also has set them free of context. What happens is limited to what gets recorded. The story is without context and the one who harasses is set adrift as if he does not actually operate in an environment where harassment for some is not all that unacceptable. For the one being harassed the lack of context tends to trivialize the deed whose implications are much wider than an official report can indicate. The official report comes to stand for how and what people know of the event. The report mediates what we think the event is.

The social relations that organize these practices remain invisible. Women's lived experiences ultimately get described in terms that the dominant groups can hear and understand. The power relations are covered over and the problems are described as particular practices. Moreover this shift from primary narrative to mediated text reformulates the lived experience of women into constituents of the relations of ruling.

Smith's words "Beginning to speak from a site of consciousness that had not already been made over and subdued..." describes the telling of an account in one's own terms, and this is was what I was conscious of in the hearing of women as they told their stories. In spite of the way this project ended for me, it has served to deepen my questions of how to capture and understand and not do violence to stories that comprise the data of any research project. How can the data be left to speak outside preconceived notions of what it will say? It is not simply that words and their clever ways fail us. It is that ways of thinking about issues have already been shaped by a previously fabricated construction.

I have raised some concerns about doing research on women. My concern is about wanting to leave women's words the way they are so as to avoid violating the data and the women. The question is knowing how best to represent women, either as they themselves report, or as the institutions know how to hear them, that is, in the previously constructed categories.

I believe that among women in positions of authority who are trying to promote change, self-surveillance and the normalyzing effect of institutional power can happen anywhere. While the self-surveillance is shaped by a particular organization, it would be a mistake simply to pass off the events I have described as the peculiarities of a few misguided people. Those who investigate the status of women for large organizations are forever in danger of being drawn into the power of the panopticon, feminist research methodology notwithstanding.

Selected References

Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.

Gordon, C. (Ed.). (1980). Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977 (C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Hepham, K. Soper, Trans.). New York: Pantheon Books.

Rabinow, P. (Ed.). (1984). The Foucault reader. New York: Pantheon Books.

Smith, D. (1990). The conceptual practices of power: A feminist sociology of knowledge. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Revisiting Theory and Practice

Mark Selman
Murray Ross

Abstract: Educators' thinking about the distinction between theory and practice has often tended either to the view that theory is obviously necessary to intelligent practice or that theory is necessarily remote from and possibly dangerous to good practice. This session examines the merits and limitations of each view.

Resume: La pensée des éducateurs vis à vis la distinction entre la théorie et la pratique a souvent une tendence soit d'adopter le point de vue que la théorie est évidemment nécessaire a la bonne pratique soit que la théorie est nécessairement éloigné de la bonne pratique. Cette discussion va examiner la valeur et les dangers si on accepte un point de vue ou l'autre.

A college president of our acquaintance is fond of distinguishing adult educators on the basis of whether they are thinkers or doers. While this is done partly in jest, it is only funny because there is a certain amount of truth to the implication that the thinkers only think and that the doers only do and that rarely do the two occur in close proximity to each other. More commonly this purported separation is stated in terms of a gulf between theory and practice, with practitioners and many students bemoaning the irrelevance of educational theorizing to the actual practice of adult education and professors bemoaning the obvious blundering about of practitioners and administrators in apparent disregard for one or another well established theory.

In the eyes of many the problem with theory is that it's -- well, too theoretical. This problem is construed somewhat differently by different people. Mainly, however, the objection is that theory is impractical. Theory cannot readily give direction to practice, either because it is too general to give much practical guidance in a given case, or because practical matters often don't require the assistance of theory. On this latter, more charitable view, theories are required only when our uncertainty about how to proceed is so great we don't know what to do. Theory has a significant role to play at the boundaries of human understanding, but not in the hurly-burly world of the office, the lecture hall or the construction site, where experience, eventually, tells us what to do.

A much smaller number of people think theory of one sort or another is indispensable to practical affairs, and point to the absence of a sound theoretical grounding to explain many of the wide variety of failures into which uninformed commonsense may lead us. Education, on this view, is a practical, but theoretically informed pursuit, or at least ought to be, much in the manner of engineering or medicine. Educational theory, then, is best seen consisting of general principles and hypotheses, justified by their link to an appropriate disciplinary base and useful by virtue of their explanatory and predictive power.

Our intention is to do some justice at least to what is important in both views, and perhaps more importantly, to indicate the dangers inherent in ignoring either. So as not to keep you in suspense, we believe that theory is properly understood as informing practice, but not in the manner of a stern tutor instructing a dim-witted child. The distinction between theory and practice, like most other distinctions, should not be thought of as an all-purpose distinction, nor as an irreducible dichotomy. Instead let us follow Dearden's suggestion that the distinction be viewed as a shifting set of contrasts which serve different and oftentimes equally valid purposes. Of equal importance is his reminder that theorizing is itself a practice.[1]

Both views, that is both the view that theory is an indispensable part of any intelligent practice and the view that theory cannot usefully be applied across the range of practical enterprises in which humans engage, have reputable philosophical provenances. Kant argues for the former: "No one can pretend to be practically versed in a branch of knowledge and yet treat theory with scorn, without exposing the fact that he is an ignoramus in his subject. He no doubt imagines he can get further than he could through theory if he gropes around in experiments and experiences, without collecting certain principles (which in fact amount to what we term theory) and without relating his activities to an integral whole..." [parentheses in the original].[2] Kant goes on to point out that situations in which theory appears to be distant from practice, and therefore impractical, are really situations in which theory is incomplete, and stands in need of further development, not rejection.

This view, the view that practice can be intelligent only if grounded in some theory or another, was dismissed by Gilbert Ryle as being a part of "the intellectualist legend". [3] His objections are worth noting. Ryle's first objection was to point out the obvious: there are many intelligent practices for which there is no body of theory. His more philosophically decisive objection was that if we suppose theory must take logical priority to practice in every case we will be faced with the problem of an infinite regress. Since theorizing is itself an intelligent practice, it would require, on the intellectualist account above, its own theoretical foundation in order to be intelligent, and so on ad infinitum. As Dearden cleverly put it, the intellectualist legend leaves us faced with "an endless vista of row upon row of backseat drivers." [4]

Are Ryle's objections decisive here? Is there hope for reconciliation between these views? We take the latter to be the most desirable option. What is required, if we are correct about this, is a conception of theory which recognizes both that theory is capable of informing any intelligent human practice and that theories are limited in many ways. Among these limitations one might include incompleteness, indefiniteness, and fallibility. As Ryle's argument to infinite regress has shown, theory cannot provide a comprehensive background to every intelligent practice, nor is theory the sole or privileged source for insight into practice. At some point, theory runs out and intelligent practice must rely on the practitioners' judgment. In addition, theory is always provisional and is always subject to correction through experience. Thus, our own view is that theorizing is a feature of all intelligent human practices but should not be understood to enjoy a distinct and privileged position in relation intelligent practices, legislating on the basis of its logical priority how other practices ought to be carried out.

---

[1] Robert Dearden. *Theory and Practice in Education.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1984.

[2] Immanuel Kant. "On the Common Saying: "This May be True in Theory. But It Does Not Apply in Practice." in Hans Reiss (ed.) *Kant: Political Writings.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. p. 62.

[3] Gilbert Ryle. *The Concept of Mind.* London: Hutchinson. 1949.

[4] Robert Dearden. *Theory and Practice in Education* p. 12.

Is anything distinct about theory and practice? It depends on what is meant by theory and practice. Typically scientific theory has been seen to provide the paradigmatic definition for theory, even when explicated in everyday terms. Hempel's famous example of the cracked radiator, explained in terms of antecedent conditions and known scientific laws, stands as one exemplar.[5] On this view theories are sets of hypotheses which attempt to explain phenomena, and which, when successful, enable us to predict and control events. If this relatively narrow notion of theory were the only one, Ryle's case against Kant would clearly prevail. But is there a compelling reason for restricting the idea of theory to scientific enterprises only? Quine, for one, thinks not. [6] Any set of hypotheses will serve as a theory, even those connected with attempts to understand why there are footprints in the garden. As one commentator recently put it:

> Theorizing is not something confined to the scientific context, nor is it the sole preserve of the trained scientist. All of us theorize. We theorize about the cause of the delay in the mail, the best way to handle the grievance from the shop steward, whether there is an afterlife, how to avoid having to buy a new vacuum cleaner.... [7]

Theory in this broader sense helps define a set of purposes, and guides observations. By doing so, theory helps define what will count as a fact, relevant to a given purpose. As Einstein said, theory enables us to see. It is not possible to see everything at once: what we will see will be, in part, a function of our purposes, and, in part, a function of our conceptual schemes, which are both, as we've suggested, closely intertwined. Theory suggests which among the countless elements of experience is worthy of notice and of further investigation. Without theory in this broader sense, we surely would be lost.

Theorizing is a practical activity, made up of many other activities such as generating and testing hypotheses, searching for assumptions, assessing the validity and soundness of arguments, making distinctions, exploring alternative viewpoints, and so on. All of these activities can be done well or poorly, but they are, without doubt, things we do. In this sense the theoretical is practical. It consists of sets of practices which have their own internal standards of appraisal, their own rules which define competent practice in a given case. Being competent in any of these practices is a matter of being able to follow these rules, and in this sense, of "knowing" them. When we recognize that a conclusion does not follow from its premises, or when we discover that the available evidence contradicts our preferred view we have noted a breach of the rules.

---

[5] Carl G. Hempel, "The Function of General Laws in History", in *Journal of Philosophy*, 39, 1942, pp. 231-243.

[6] W.V.O. Quine and J. Ullian, *The Web of Belief.* Quine is famous having shown that theories are always underdetermined by any finite set of data. For present purposes, it is just as important that the reverse is true: even well founded theories do not uniquely determine states of affairs.

[7] Norman Swartz, *Beyond Experience: Metaphysical Theories and Philosophical Constraints*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, p. 25.

Practical matters are, in a sense, theoretical as well. Let us take the case of one who teaches adults. It is reasonable to assume that most teaching proceeds on the basis of a theory of learning, perhaps only tacitly held. Though educators may be quite unaware of the theoretical underpinnings which shape their practice, criticism of those theories can bring their weaknesses to light and modify practice. Dewey's criticism of educational practice was very much informed by theoretical considerations, as is the current rejection of naively empiricist learning theory in favour of a variety of constructivist theories. The practices of theory in this sense are co-extensive with the practices of criticism.

Educational practice is also much influenced by architecture, curriculum materials, administrative arrangements, and the like, all of which may be, and often are, the embodiment of past theories. The buildings we work in, the arrangements of space and time, the discursive strategies of textbooks are frequently the products of theoretically informed planning and policies. Practice itself, then, frequently rests upon the historical residue of theories which have insinuated themselves into the taken-for-granted world. Appearing natural and unproblematic, these practices may not withstand the criticisms thrown up by points of view which, given their unfamiliarity, appear more theoretical than the practices they criticize. To the extent that practices are able to insinuate themselves in this way educators are made the prisoners of past theory. When viewed in this light, the rejection of theory is a needless rejection of some of the resources which might enable educators to usefully criticize current practices.[8] Further it can be seen that a purportedly atheoretic approach to education may well be like a purportedly apolitical approach to to social life: the denial only masks but does not obliterate the underlying commitments and assumptions.

Among those who are skeptical of the value of theory one often hears the expression -- "what looks good in theory too often fails in practice". But to judge theory on the ease with which it translates into practice is to do a disservice to theory and ignore the role of judgement in practical affairs. Know-how consists in a knowledge of rules and procedures. Such a knowledge is limited however by the fact, well understood by Kant, that rules cannot be self-applying. If rules were self-applying there would, of necessity, be a rule which governed the application of the rule in question. Educators can be given rules to follow, *modus operandi* and general principles, but rules and such cannot be self applying; they require what has been termed "rule escaping acts of judgement for their application." [9] Professional judgment, on this view, escapes the network of rules which can be conveyed in a straightforward manner. Developing judgment is a tricky business and much of it will come only with experience, and the guidance of a competent practitioner. It needs stressing, however, that experience itself is a product of interpretation and theoretical understanding. Problems, for instance, are revealed as such within theoretical frameworks of understanding. Our perceptions are not simply read off experience, but are matters of interpretation dependent upon conceptual frameworks such as those provided by ordinary language, and on more narrowly theoretical frameworks generated within the natural and social sciences, as well as within the arts and humanities.

---

[8] See Mark Selman, "Philosophical Consideration" in Gordon Selman & Paul Dampier, *The Foundations of Adult Education in Canada*, Toronto: Thompson Press, 1991, p. 28.

[9] Robert Dearden, *Theory and Practice* p. 17

Thus, given certain theoretical considerations, an ESL instructor may interpret the actions of a so-called problem student, as being motivated by perverse attitudes. Another instructor, bearing in mind different theoretical considerations, might view the person's behaviour as due to cultural differences, the traumatic stress of being forced to leave one's homeland, or even the frustrating institutional barriers and requirements to which the student is forced to comply. Similarly, arguments from feminists have at least partially sensitized educators to gender biases in teaching practice, and have led to the recognition of certain kinds of discriminatory practices which formerly might have been treated as innocent or even humourous. As was the case with Marxism, feminist theory has led to the reevaluation of taken for granted practices. To the extent perception and interpretation are theory driven, a rich and varied repertoire of theoretical frameworks will provide educators with more acute diagnostic skill, as well as with an armory of critical responses to the manifold points of view in current educational debates.

This is not to say that theory is everything, or that theory in the narrow sense associated with scientific explanation is our only critical resource, especially in the human sciences. Michael Walzer is quite correct in pointing out that "social criticism is less the offspring of scientific knowledge than the educated cousin of common complaint."[10] It is important to recognize that social practices of all sorts consist of constitutive rules and standards of judgment which can be distinguished from theoretical rules, and must be for certain purposes. Often, theories are taught to practicing and aspiring adult educators as if their importance and utility is self-evident or as if theory constitutes the entire field of adult education. Clearly it does not. Nevertheless, the dangers inherent in overstating the role of theory in practical enterprises such as education should not lead to a denial of its value across the board.

Clearly the issue of relating theory and practice will remain problematic for a long time. No particular 'solution' is likely to resolve the complex issues which arise in this connection. The issues, after all, involve political, economic, social and cultural agendas as well as epistemological ones. Some increase in clarity is achieved, however, if a few fairly simple distinctions are kept in mind. One of these is the distinction between theory in Hempel's classic, scientific sense and its broader employment in everyday activities and thought. Neither of these uses is the essential or correct meaning of 'theory' but failure to be clear about which is meant has generated much misunderstanding.

A second distinction is related to the recognition that theorizing is, itself, a set of practices. Too often, theory is thought of as being abstract, or merely ideas, while practice is thought of as material or real. However, as we have shown, theories can be embodied in practices and even in architecture and administrative arrangements.

---

[10] *Interpretation and Social Criticism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1967. p. 65.

What could be more real and intransigent than these? Practices, on the other hand, consist at least in part, of such things as intentions, rules and standards, which can be as abstract as any theory.

Finally, we might distinguish between theoretical knowledge and knowledge in general. People, especially professors, sometimes talk as if educational theory. and theory from related disciplines, is coextensive with what is known about education and learning. While we have argued that all practice and indeed all experience is theory laden, in that both are shaped by the prior participants' hypotheses and concepts, this is not to say that theory is the whole story. The limitations of incompleteness, indefiniteness, and fallibility apply to even the most well founded theories. And in practical enterprises, especially those which involve social interactions and competing interests, theory has too often been employed as if it were a neutral arbiter of truth when in fact theories are shaped by (particular) human purposes and tend to be employed in the interests of some but not others. Explicit attention to these defects and limitations, as well as the imperfect state of actual theories in the field, might go a long way in undermining the skepticism about theory so often expressed by practitioners.

Vers une pédagogie inclusive

Claudie Solar, PhD
Professeure, Faculté d'Éducation
Université d'Ottawa

Nature et but de la communication

Il existe de nos jours plusieurs approches pédagogiques qui proposent des alternatives à la discrimination que vivent les adultes dans les parcours de formation. On parle de pédagogie féministe, de pédagogie non sexiste ou anti-sexiste, de pédagogie non raciste ou anti-raciste, de pédagogies qui tiennent compte de la normalité des personnes avec un handicap ou de la réalité des lesbiennes et des gais. La communication proposera une liste de caratéristiques qui permettent de tendre vers une pédagogie inclusive.

Méthode

La démarche proposée vise à favoriser une compréhension et une appropriation des caractéristiques d'une pédagogie inclusive. Pour cela, nous développerons tout d'abord un langage commun. Ainsi, nous partirons d'une définition de la pédagogie qui la décrit comme étant un terme générique qui a trait tant au savoir qu'à sa transmission (Best, 1988). C'est "la science de l'éducation qui examine à la fois l'enseignement, l'apprentissage, le savoir et l'environnement éducatif" (Solar, 1992). Cette pédagogie peut alors être anti-sexiste si elle est élaborée dans une perspective anti-sexiste, anti-raciste quand elle prend une perspective anti-raciste, inclusive quand elle s'articule autour d'une problématique de l'inclusion.

Après la présentation de cette définition, les résultats d'une recension des écrits sur les pédagogies féministes permettra de définir et d'expliciter un certain nombre de caractéristiques propres à ces pédagogies telles que définies dans le cadre des études sur les femmes et des études féministes. Ce sont:

- la volonté de rompre le silence et de donner la parole à toutes les femmes. Certaines des stratégies utilisées à cette fin relèvent de l'animation de groupe et de diverses stratégies d'écriture;
- l'élaboration de climat propice à l'apprentissage des femmes: la compétition est réduite et des modes de coopération sont instaurées comme le travail en équipe par exemple;

- le partage du pouvoir dans un but de contrer la domination et les structrures hiérarchiques. Ce partage peut se faire en utilisant des techniques d'animation, en établissant des groupes de tâches, en parlant de soi et de son expérience personnelle;
- la volonté de transmettre des savoirs féministes qui sont en lien avec le vécu des femmes;
- la revalorisation de l'intuition et des émotions en contrepartie de la rationalité et de l'objectivité;
- l'utilisation de l'expérience comme source de savoir;
- la démystification du savoir dans sa construction épistémologique, dans sa valeur politique et dans le rapport de la personne à ce savoir;
- la dénonciation de l'omission des femmes et la construction d'une mémoire collective;
- une volonté de changement social et d'instrumentation dans ce sens;
- la transmission des outils intellectuels propres aux critiques féministes;
- une langue parlée et écrite respectueuse de la réalité de toutes les femmes et de leur diversité (cela se fait dans la pratique de la classe mais je n'ai pas trouvé d'écrits en pédagogie féministe qui en parle);
- une volonté de transformation de l'institution éducative universitaire et collégiale (Solar, 1992: 277).

Ces caractéristiques seront alors commentées et critiquées à la lumière de critères reliés à d'autres formes de discrimination que le sexisme et à la lumière de disciplines autres que celles en Études sur les femmes et Études féministes. Cette partie de la démarche se fera en interaction avec les participants et participantes et conduira à l'élaboration d'une liste des caratéristiques de ce que peut être une pédagogie inclusive ou des pédagogies inclusives.

Implications

Cette formule interactive devrait favoriser le développement d'une compréhension personnelle de la notion d'inclusion dans l'acte pédagogique et ainsi outiller formateurs et formatrices d'adultes en regard des nouveaux défis que soulèvent l'égalité des personnes et l'équité éducative.

Références

BEST Francine. 1988. «Les avatars du mot "pédagogie"». **Perspectives**. 18: 161-170.

SOLAR Claudie. 1992. «Dentelle de pédagogies féministes». **Revue canadienne de l'éducation**. 17.2: 264-285.

Un outil de sensibilisation et de formation contre la discrimination : *En toute égalité*

Claudie Solar, PhD
Professeure, Faculté d'Éducation
Université d'Ottawa

Problématique

Il existe maintenant de nombreuses études tant nationales qu'internationales qui mettent en évidence le fait que l'université et les écoles d'enseignement supérieur, tout comme l'école primaire et secondaire, n'offrent pas la même égalité des chances aux personnes qui les fréquentent. Cette égalité demeure à bâtir et le traitement préjudiciable différencié des personnes selon leur sexe, leur race, leur culture, leur âge ou leur orientation sexuelle reste à être éliminé des pratiques éducatives.

La Charte des droits et libertés du Canada, les Chartes des provinces, tout comme la Convention des Nations Unies sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination à l'égard des femmes, à laquelle souscrit le Canada depuis 1981, affirment l'égalité de toutes les personnes devant la loi et condamnent la discrimination tant individuelle que systémique. Mais, tout comme il ne suffit pas de décréter le cessez le feu pour que la guerre arrête, il ne suffit pas de décréter l'égalité pour que la discrimination disparaisse du jour au lendemain. De nombreux groupes sociaux en sont encore victimes et les femmes qui constituent la moitié de tous les groupes sociaux sont la plupart du temps les grandes perdantes du système.

Or l'éducation constitue un des lieux privilégiés pour contrer la perpétuation des préjugés et bâtir une société inclusive. C'est dans cette perspective que le système d'éducation fait l'objet de nombreuses études et analyses en ce qui concernent l'égalité des chances. Toutefois, les lieux qui ont été les plus étudiés sont l'école primaire et secondaire, ainsi que l'école maternelle et la famille, et les innovations se sont surtout déroulées à l'école. L'université, en contrepartie, a fait l'objet que de peu d'études et n'a guère été le lieu d'innovation quant à la lutte contre l'inégalité, si ce n'est pour les Études sur les femmes et des Études sur les Noirs et les Noires dont l'innovation en ce qui a trait à l'égalité porte surtout sur les contenus de formation et parfois sur les modalités de la formation. Car l'inégalité se joue tant dans les savoirs transmis que dans leurs modes de transmission (Solar, 1992a, 1992b).

L'Université Concordia a voulu innové et son Bureau du statut des femmes qui existe depuis 1985 a développé un projet pour promouvoir l'égalité des chances dans la relation pédagogique. C'est ainsi que l'outil de formation multimédia **En toute égalité** (Solar, 1992c) a vu le jour alors que j'étais Conseillère auprès du recteur sur le statut des femmes.

Nature et but

En toute égalité dont la version anglaise s'intitule **Inequity in the Classroom** traite de la discrimination à travers une intersection femmes et groupes sociaux minoritaires. Centré sur l'interaction pédagogique, cet outil de formation a été conçu à l'intention des personnes qui dispensent de la formation dans les institutions d'enseignement supérieur et dans les réseaux d'enseignement aux adultes, c'est-à-dire les personnes qui sont les premières responsables de ce qui se passe dans un cours à l'université ou dans les lieux de l'éducation des adultes.

En toute égalité est une production multimédia incluant un livre et un document vidéoscopique. Cette production comporte des outils de sensibilisation aux diverses manifestations de discrimination que vivent les femmes dans leur apprentissage à l'université ou dans les différents lieux de l'éducation des adultes et offrent ainsi des éléments de réponse aux questions suivantes:

- Qu'est-ce que l'inéquité en classe?
- Comment se manifeste-t-elle?
- Quel effet cela a-t-il sur les étudiantes et les étudiants?
- Comment peut-on créer un environnement éducatif inclusif?

Méthode

Cet outil de formation et de sensibilisation a été conçu:

- suite à des demandes de membres du corps professoral qui ressentaient l'urgence d'amorcer un changement en vue de respecter la Charte des droits et libertés dans l'interaction pédagogique,
- suite aux revendications des étudiantes elles-mêmes qui trouvaient de plus en plus insoutenable la discrimination qu'elles vivaient lors de leur parcours de formation,
- suite aux besoins de disposer d'outils de sensibilisation et de formation quant à la discrimination à l'égard des femmes.

Pour concevoir et bâtir les outils, le Bureau a procédé à une recension des écrits ainsi qu'à une collecte de données via des entrevues de groupe auprès d'étudiantes. Des experts et expertes ont été consulté afin d'étayer la démarche de conceptualisation des outils vidéoscopique et manuscrit. Enfin, un comité aviseur suivait les différentes étapes d'élaboration et de réalisation.

Description et implications

La vidéo offre un premier regard sur divers aspects de la discrimination fondée sur le sexe et sur la race, aborde leurs manifestations, leurs effets sur les personnes et les façons d'apprendre à les éliminer de l'enseignement et de la formation. Elle commence par des témoignages de quelques étudiantes qui expliquent comment les comportements discriminatoires les ont atteintes. Viennent ensuite des commentaires et analyses d'experts et d'expertes: William Gilsdorf, Sheila McIntyre, Sherene Razack et Dorothy Smith traitent du sexisme et du racisme. Deux scènes théâtralisées viennent illustrer de façon très concrète ce qui se joue dans l'interaction pédagogique; ces deux mises en situation sont commentées par Myra Sadker et David Sadker. Les thèmes couverts dans la vidéo sont le rôle et les attentes des professeures et professeurs, la distribution de leur attention dans l'interaction pédagogique, les contenus de formation, le rôle de l'université. La liberté académique et la résistance au changement sont aussi abordées.

En toute égalité a été élaboré en tenant compte de la réalité des adultes et de la difficulté que peut représenter le changement quant à l'élimination de comportements discriminatoires dans l'interaction pédagogique. Aussi le visionnement de la vidéo peut se faire seul-e ou en groupe, en réunion de travail ou de département, ou encore en situation d'enseignement. Dans ce dernier cas, la vidéo est intégrée à un atelier de formation dont la description et les outils pédagogiques de soutien font partie intégrante du livre. Celui-ci offre des outils d'intervention supplémentaires. Tout d'abord, il propose un atelier d'une journée de formation qui s'articule à partir de la vidéo et permet de traiter des diverses manifestations de la discrimination dans l'interaction pédagogique, de leurs effets et des alternatives possibles pour contrer l'inégalité des chances. Vient ensuite une série de fiches de données sur les différents aspects de la discrimination. Ces fiches portent sur le sexisme, le racisme et l'hétérosexisme et traitent des comportements verbaux, non-verbaux, des stéréotypes, du langage et du curriculum. Chaque fiche propose une définition, présente diverses manifestations et exemples du phénomène à l'étude, en mentionne les conséquences, suggère des alternatives et se termine par une bibliographie. Le livre se termine par une bibliographie annotée ainsi que par une bibliographie sélective qui reprend le même découpage que les fiches de données.

À l'usage, **En toute égalité,** se révèle être un outil versatile et souple qui permet une démarche individuelle ou de groupe, autonome ou encadrée. Le visionnement de la vidéo génère toujours des discussions sur la discrimination, la liberté universitaire ou les changements requis, tandis que le livre soutient et consolide la démarche éducative notamment en ce qui a trait au savoir.

A l'Université, l'objectif ultime du projet est de rejoindre chaque département, chaque professeur-e, ainsi que les étudiantes et étudiants de façon à susciter réflexion et changement. Jusqu'à maintenant, quel que soit le lieu où les échanges ont eu lieu et quel que soit le champ disciplinaire, il s'est toujours trouvé quelqu'un qui a découvert, saisi ou compris quelque chose. La vidéo a toujours suscité des échanges quelles que soient les personnes rencontrées. Les personnes en situation d'apprentissage apprennent à mettre des mots sur ce qu'elles vivent ou ont vécu; celles qui enseignent sur ce qu'elles font ou ne font pas, sur ce qu'elles disent ou ne disent pas. Présenté aux membres du corps professoral, le thème suscite une réflexion sur la discipline comme telle, sur son enseignement, sur l'aspect pédagogique du programme.

En toute égalité se révèle être un outil multimédia qui semble atteindre les buts visés lors de sa conception. Il devient par le fait même un outil de promotion et de revalorisation de l'enseignement à l'université tel que le préconise le rapport Smith du gouvernement fédéral et plusieurs rapports du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation du Québec.

Références

SOLAR C (1992a). "Dentelle de pédagogies féministes". **Revue canadienne de l'éducation**. Vol 17. N°2. 264-285.

SOLAR C. (1992b). "Du silence à la parole: les femmes en quête d'une éducation". Collection **Critique féministe des disciplines.Vol IV**. Cahiers du GREMF N° 51. Université Laval: 25-44.

SOLAR C. (dir) (1992c).
Version française, **En toute égalité,** Guide de formation et vidéo, Bureau du statut des femmes. Université Concordia, 135p.
Version anglaise, **Inequity in the Classroom**, Training manual and video, Office on the Status of Women, Concordia University, 132p.

Labour and Educators Conference on SoliNet: A Network for the Nineties?

Bruce Spencer, Athabasca University

ABSTRACT

In the Fall of 1992 the Canadian Union of Public Employee (CUPE) sponsored, and the staff at Athabasca Univesity moderated, a 10 week conference on CUPE's electronic mail and conference system SoliNet. This paper reviews the contributions to the conference and discusses the strengths and weaknesses of computer conferencing for worker educators.

Durant l'automne 1992, le Syndicat Canadien des Employé(e)s de la Fonction Publique a subventionné une conférence de dix semaines sur l'emploi du courrier électronique dont se sert le SCFP ainsi que le système conférencier employé, SoliNet. Cette conférence a été réalisé avec la coopération des employé(e)s de l'université Athabsca qui a présidé. L'exposé qui suit examine les contributions à la conférence et discute les avantages et les inconvénients de systèmes électroniques conférenciers pour les éducateurs.

SoliNet is an electronic mail and computer conferencing system sponsored by the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and made available to all sections of the labour and social movements. It links Canadians "from sea to sea to sea", and includes some subscribers from the USA, providing a vital exchange of information and ideas at a relatively low cost. Athabasca University is planning to make use of the network to help deliver distance learning labour courses and invited Marc Belanger, manager of the system, to visit AU. It was agreed that we should try out the system and gain some experience; Marc suggested that we should conduct a SoliNet conference and we were keen to find out what labour education was currently available and how we could best supplement that provision. Therefore a SoliNet Labour Education conference was offered to users to run from October to early December 1992 with Jeff Taylor (Labour Studies, Athabasca University) as moderator and other AU staff contributing to the discussion.

The conference generated 155 separate messages, a few of those were the same message split into two because of the 50 line limit Marc operates on all SoliNet contributions, others were little more than individuals "signing on" or Jeff asking contributors for more information on comments made, but the majority of messages provided information, insights and opinion on labour education participants had experienced or offered. There was a total of 68 individuals in the conference although some were "lurkers" (reading the contributions but not adding to them). CUPE has established computer facilities in offices across Canada and inevitably CUPE was the majority union represented in the electronic conference but it also drew in representatives from the Steelworkers, British Columbia Teachers Federation, Telecommunications Workers, Woodworkers and others; and attracted labour educators from across Canada (including some working overseas) and two from the USA.

The discussion followed a suggested agenda looking at provision in Canada and abroad, links between internal union programmes and educational providers, the difference between industrial relations and labour studies, women's studies and labour studies, distance education, and the role of computers. But the discussions also ranged across the implications of post-modernism for labour and such hoary chestnuts as the role of "intellectuals" in the labour movement, and the nature of trade unionism. The agenda proved to be flexible and free flowing; the medium allowed contributors from different time zones to log in at their convenience and contribute without first having to attract the "eye of the chair". Computer conferencing does have some limitations, it favours the written not the spoken word and those with reasonable computer skills, it can also take a few messages (and therefore a number of days) to unscramble a misunderstanding or get back onto a topic. On the other hand it does allow more than one debate on one topic to continue at any one time.

Before debating the merits of computer conferencing further this piece will briefly review a selection of the contributions to illustrate examples of the labour education available in Canada and being offered by Canadians abroad. Therefore what follows is a sample of messages (contributions) grouped under five headings: Introductory Comments and Canadian Union Education; International Labour Education; Institutional Provision of Labour Studies; Pedagogy, Women's Studies and Labour Studies; Computer Conferencing.

Introductory Comments and Canadian Union Education

TITLE: Some Thoughts on the Conference

I am an environmental consultant from Winnipeg, Manitoba. Over three-quarters of my clients are unions, and the vast majority of my work with them is related to environmental education activities.

It appears that education programmes will need to change to meet new challenges.

Firstly, financial constraints are limiting the options. Week long residential schools are becoming prohibitively expensive (in Canada unions pay lost wages and benefits). At the same time, many unions are facing higher costs and/or reduced incomes. For those reasons, local unions are less able to send participants to these schools. When they do send their members, they often prioritize the basic courses so that they can build a base of functional stewards and elected leadership.

This trend will result in labour educators focusing on these course where there is the most take-up. The process reinforces itself over time. Accordingly, there will be less support for the development of new courses to educate and train on emerging issues, such as the environment.

Secondly, the subject matter itself is often becoming more complex in areas like health and safety, the environment, technological change, etc - education and training needs to advance with the times. One approach is to teach information gathering skills and techniques, but, that alone, does not address the need to constantly update curriculum and course materials and retrain previous trainees as new information becomes available.

Lastly, the people we train are learning in different ways. This is largely a result of the impact of new technology. Younger workers have grown up with electronic information. Children today are learning on computers and through interactive mediums. New technologies are most certainly forcing change, but they are also enabling change.

I am looking forward to this conference as a way to discuss and act upon those challenges. The format as outlined looks excellent. I wonder if the issue of maintaining ongoing contact with trainees through new technologies could be included as a topic area. As well, I would like to see some discussion as to how peer instructor groups can be established to extend training programs through technologies like SoliNet without necessitating the active involvement of already overworked union staff or consultants.

Jay Cowan

TITLE: UAW/Paid Educational Leave

I thought I would point out that in the U.S. UAW/PEL management, in addition to unionists, are in the program. In fact, the UAW sees this a strength of their program, they try to buddy workers and their management. (Contrast with Canadian Auto Workers)

Needless to say, even though the union plays a major role if not the central role in determining the curriculum, I've tended not to see the U.S. PEL as union education - and I for one, think the CAW model is much better.

But for university labour educators this raises a rather interesting point. Some of our programs are open to any interested student - not simply trade unionists. I think it's important that we distinguish between

different types of university based labour or union education. To me, the most important distinction is between what I call education about unions (open to any students - so called labour studies) and union programs (programs for trade unionists - and not for the general student body).....
Elaine Bernard

TITLE: Another joiner

This conference looks quite fascinating - a chance to carry on discussions that one doesn't find a place for in other venues.

My name is Larry Kuehn and I am the Director of Research and Technology at the B.C. Teachers' Federation. I also teach a course in the Capilano College Labour Studies Programme - a one day course on using SoliNet and the WEB for union communications and international solidarity. If this tool is going to be used effectively by unions, I believe that attention has to be paid to introducing people to the power of the medium and provide the support that is frequently needed by new users.
Larry Kuehn

TITLE: Hello

I am Dave Lindeman of the United Steelworkers of America, currently seconded to the National Office in Toronto in the Safety, Health and Environment Dept. I have been a member of the Steelworkers for 10 years during which time I have pursued a course of part-time studies that has allowed me to obtain a History B.A. from McMaster University and certificate in Occupational Safety from Mohawk College.

I am still a newcomer to SoliNet and of course this conference and I am amazed by very idea of becoming involved with such a wide range of individuals representing such differing backgrounds. I have just read the previous 40 odd messages and enjoyed the discussions.

Part of my responsibilities in Toronto is the development of a week-long Environment Training course for local union activists. We have also assembled a Home Audit Kit that is to be distributed through workshops starting in Ontario. Both these projects have included considerable contribution from Jay Cowan.
Dave

TITLE: CUPE 6 Level Program

CUPE's Six Level Education Program is called such because it leads to a Certificate of Completion for six levels of courses which includes the CLC Labour College courses.

Courses in Levels 1 to 4 are usually held on weekends and in week long seminars and are instructed by peer instructors and/or Union staff. Broadly speaking, the Levels are outlined as follows:

1. New Members and Officers
2. Steward Training
3. Collective Bargaining
4. Specialized Courses
5. Labour College Correspondence Courses
6. Labour College Residential Program

CUPE issues a Diploma with Seals for Completion of each Level. Some levels an individual will receive a Certificate as having completed the Level after taking one or two of the courses whereas others require full completion of all courses in the level. But this is not really very important in the context of this conference.....
(There followed a detailed description of the courses in the 6 categories listed above)

....Most of these courses are available at weekend seminars sponsored by the CUPE District Councils, specific courses are arranged for Local unions or groups of them. Here in Ontario, the Ontario division sponsors up to three large weekend seminars where we will have 10-12 courses going on with upwards of 350 participants. CUPE National also holds three week long

schools in Ontario. Some of these courses are available on a correspondence basis.
Joe Bouchard
National Representative, CUPE Niagara Area Office

International Labour Education
TITLE: Joining in from afar

Hello to people in this labour education conference, a few of whom I know, but many I don't. My name is Ken Hansen, and I am coordinating the occupational health and safety project in Mozambique which Dorothy Wigmore mentioned in her message.

In answer to David Moore - yes, we are working directly with the unions here, and in fact have good links with the ZCTU, which we have visited a couple of times, and received their visits here. They will be one of the delegations at a workshop we are trying to organize in Brazil in February or March, on participatory approaches to OH&S training of workers. The ZCTU will also, we hope, be participating in a small project in January-March 1993, which we are developing, involving a visiting Canadian labour educator and two steward training in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Working with the unions here (a country which is just now coming out of single-party *socialism*) forces one to be very clear about what unionism is or isn't, in its essential form (ie, not Canadian-style, South African-style, etc., but unionism per se). This also leads us to emphasize the need to approach union education in close combination with more general questions of union *organization*, the role of a worker representative (eg. shop steward) in the workplace, etc. All of this links up to the general issue of union education being nearly-inherently linked to practical results (even outside of *tool* courses). The *popular education* approach is useful to us in our work, in emphasizing the existing knowledge workers have (from their workplaces), and the applicability of the learning experience for *transforming the world* (conditions in their workplaces).
Ken Hansen

TITLE: Steelworker Humanity Fund

The following is a short summary of an article that appeared in the October 1992 edition of Briarpatch. The article is by Judith Marshall and it's entitled "Steelworkers Humanity Fund Education Programme."

The article is a description of a course called *Thinking North-South* developed by the Steelworkers Humanity Fund. It's taught in Steelworkers' weeklong schools. Rank and file activists drawn from the 280 bargaining units now contributing to the Humanity Fund spend a week together thinking about the workings of the global economy.

Over 110 rank and file workers throughout Canada have participated in the course. Fifteen have also travelled to visit projects in El Salvador and Peru.

The course has been offered seven times since 1991, using popular education methods. Participants map out the workings of the global economy, starting with their own workplace and eventually creating a complex map linking *structural adjustment* in the south with *free trade* in the north.

The instructor team, which includes worker-instructors who have done the course and travelled to other countries, have been experimenting with different approaches. One course included a role play of a press conference given by delegations at an international meeting on hemispheric initiatives. The *Peruvian delegation* and *Canadian delegation* made presentations on current economic policies. The *journalists* were divided into labour and mainstream press.

The course has tackled the question of how the media frames our vision of the south in relations of charity rather than strategic alliances. One video used is *Simon Ngubane: Still on Strike*, a history of the South African metalworkers. Responses to it include: "I had no idea there was such a sophisticated trade union movement in South Africa" or "Why does TV just show us *black on black* violence instead of news on trade unions?"

Institutional Provision of Labour Studies

TITLE: Message from University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Hi, I'm Larry Haiven. I teach in the College of Commerce at the University of Saskatchewan and also teach in the Labour Studies Programme which is run by the College and endorsed by the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour. Since the program began in 1988, we have had over 200 trade unionists taking courses, which range from "labour History and the Role of Labour in Society" through "Labour Sociology", "Labour Economics", "Women and Work", "New Technology", and "Labour Law and Occupational Health & Safety". After taking six courses over three years, students obtain a university certificate. I'm very interested in all aspects of the teaching of trade unionists, including methods, materials and course content. I am VERY interested in building a permanent organization in Canada of labour educators. This conference should act as a catalyst for that.

Larry

TITLE: John Price Again

I just received word that Langara Council has approved in principal the establishment of a labour studies program at VCC Langara - we've been working on this for 8 months so its welcome news. Now we need to get some funding!

....As for the current discussion - internal union education and college/university programs. One of the interesting angles about our labour studies program is that we're directing it at the student population. We've said, and faculty agree, that it is crazy students graduate knowing next to nothing about labour issues, collective bargaining, etc. when these things will play an important role in the work life. I tend to agree that labour should control education of its own members but they need a strong alliance with progressive academics to bring in the critical edge to learning. There's no easy solutions to the uneasy, at times, relationship.

John Price

Pedagogy, Women's Studies and Labour Studies

TITLE: Pedagogy and Women's Studies and Labour Studies

To connect up the discussion of popular education, class and classlessness with Women's Studies/Labour studies, I'd like to talk about feminist pedagogy. I'd say it's much like what Ken describes popular education approaches to be - indeed feminists could call themselves popular educators.

What I think feminist pedagogy adds is an awareness of gender. I think that it's as important for labour educators to facilitate discussion of and challenge to gender oppression as it is to facilitate discussion of class.

This brings me to the question of the gender of the educator/facilitator. I think gender matters a great deal; men can't know what it is to be a woman. I don't think this means that men can't be feminist labour educators, but that they must somehow deal with their inexperience of oppression because of their gender.

What do the labour educators think? What do men do to deal with their lack of women's experience?

Catherine Bray

TITLE: Pedagogy

I am uncomfortable with one of the unstated assumptions in experiential learning as described by Ken, and which Cathy and Barbara seem to suggest is central to feminist pedagogy. While I accept that understanding/education/knowledge must begin with experience, it must go beyond that. To put it another way, there is more to the real world that what we perceive or sense in our experiences: we need more than our experiences to understand the world. I don't think feminism emerges directly from women's experiences nor does socialism emerge directly from workers' experience. What is required is abstraction, where theoretical or philosophical concepts are formulated that make sense of experience. In the case of women's oppression, for example, theories of patriarchy and the relationship of patriarchy to other systems of domination (class, race, sexual, etc.) are as necessary as experience in *knowing* about gender relations. Theory and experience are linked, of course, but my point is that they are not directly linked, of course, but my point is that they are not directly linked: there needs to be some conceptual distance between the two.

What does this mean for my pedagogy? As a man teaching about women, gender and feminism, it means that I bring the skills, knowledge and training I have that allow me to talk about the history of women and feminism, to present theories of gender relations, or to use my analytical skills to draw connections between the lived experiences of oppression (which I don't have) and the relevant literature (which I know and understand). I don't believe there is a hierarchy here, where the theory or conceptualisation is more important than the experience, but neither do I think that experience is more important than the concepts and theory.

Similarly, in labour education there is a crucial role for the theories, concepts and broader knowledge to play. In my labour history classes, for example, I can draw upon student experiences as a way of understanding the past, and students can connect and compare their own experiences with the legacy of labour struggles. But they still have to know about that history both empirically and conceptually: they have to know about the Knights of Labour, the Winnipeg General Strike, etc *and* they have to know about class relations, capitalist periodisation, etc.

This is not to denigrate the importance of experience-based learning and knowledge, but its important to recognize that that knowledge is only partial in the absence of conceptualisation, abstraction, etc.
Jeff Taylor

Computer Conferencing

TITLE: Long Distance Education

I think the most exciting application of computer conferencing is the potential for long distance education – both the formal and the informal kinds.

The formal kind involves structured courses given by union or academic institutions. Workers who may have trouble getting to the regular Tuesday night class or can't give up valuable weekend time with the family can participate at their convenience.

Meanwhile, the range of instructors is dramatically increased. We're a small movement in a large country. Our specialized instructors are few and far between. With computer conferencing an instructor, in say Calgary, can teach students from St. John's to Sooke. That capability could grow into a pretty powerful tool for the labour movement. (And we won't even get into the possibility of international teaching.)

The second kind of educational potential to this medium is the informal interchange. People in the conferences on SoliNet come from all across the country and each region has its own particular union traditions. B.C. for instance has a very strong and militant union tradition. That tradition comes out as people from B.C. discuss more industrially-based unionism which promotes its own view of unionism. People in the Maritimes have a more family-oriented approach to unionism in an area that is not heavily unionized. The informal interchange between people in these areas is as important an educational tool as formal courses.

And, from what I've seen, computer conferencing is the only affordable medium which will allow this sort of interchange. The labour movement could never have started a radio or TV network. But we did start a computer conferencing network.

As for the technical difficulties: I think they will be of a burden as communication and conferencing software gets better. I've noticed in the past year alone that many more people are to struggle with modems. And, as we introduce new software, SoliNet will become easier to use. (However, our universities had better start realizing soon that computer communications via mainframe has been by-passed by microcomputer communications. Our universities are supposed to be at the forefront of instructional and technological advances and most professors can't even get to Datapac never mind run microcomputer software to get to SoliNet.

As for examples of the informal and formal approaches to education we don't have to look much further than SoliNet. The recent *constitution* conference was a superb example of in education. This conference is a great example of a university long-distance course via computer conferencing.

And we're just at the start of it all!

Marc

Conclusions, the strengths and weaknesses of computer conferencing[1]

These extracts give some of the flavour of the debates and information exchanged but miss out some of the more animated discussions -- it did feel like a *live* conference with different positions being taken up.

In reviewing the hard copy of everyone's comments (one of the major advantages of a conference such as this is that the proceedings are automatically available), there were a number of substantive discussions on the issues listed in the introduction. However, moderating an electronic conference calls for different techniques, for example, in a live conference the moderator poses questions, summarizes points raised, perhaps gives the points a twist, and then poses new questions. Your participants are captive and directly engaged so this method can work. In an electronic conference, however, this technique is hit and miss: a question can be thrown out and it never lands. Maybe it didn't land because it was a stupid question. In a live conference, you know that the question was bad if no one responds. Electronically, though, it could be for any number of reasons. Participants aren't logged in for a number of days, they aren't interested in the question, they're too tired to respond, etc. These are all legitimate reasons, but the dilemma for the moderator is how do you move a paced conference along? What seemed to work in this conference were provocative comments.

Another problem, as Marc alluded to in message 144 and Larry Haiven mentioned in message 13, is getting academics connected to SoliNet so they can participate. There is the technical problem Marc mentions – of academics connecting through mainframes – but this is compounded by the lack of computer service support many academics get, particularly if they are in the humanities and social sciences. Many academics don't even use their internal e-mail systems, although that is slowly changing, so if you start talking about Datapac and computer conferencing their eyes glaze over. Another problem, unfortunately, is that some progressive academics are too comfortable reading and writing books, or are too busy with onerous teaching and administrative loads, to worry about the real barriers between their worlds and the worlds they study and analyze.

---

[1] I am indebted to Jeff Taylor for his assistance with these concluding remarks.

Literacy for Health and Human Development: Strengthening the Links

Maurice Taylor (University of Ottawa)
Cora Hinds (University of Ottawa)
Patricia Rodney (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education)

Abstract

Health promotion strategies for adults with low literacy skills is an area of concern for both developed and developing countries. Three professional adult education associations join together to exchange research ideas and practices on this common area of interest from both a Canadian and Caribbean perspective. Linkages for integrating literacy, health and human development will also be discussed.

Résumé

Les pays développés et sous-développés éprouvent un problème en ce qui a trait à la promotion stratégique de la santé pour adultes faiblement alphabétisés. Parmi trois associations professionnelles en éducation des adultes, il existe un échange de recherches et de pratiques sous un intérêt commun d'une perspective Canadienne et Caraïbes. Celles-ci favorisent l'initiative d'un partenariat en vue d'une intégration de l'alphabétisation, de la santé et du développement humain.

Introduction

Over the last few years, there has been a growing awareness of the problem of illiteracy and its impact on health by adult educators, medical practitioners, researchers and policy makers. Both in Canada and in some parts of the Caribbean, numerous reports and studies have now identified significant and dramatic examples of health problems that are directly related to illiteracy. These problems are often severe enough to require hospitalization. One of the most frequently cited problems due to the inability to read involves the incorrect use of medications or a lack of understanding instructions about the proper use of medications. Other difficulties clearly caused by reading problems include not following medical directions, errors in administration of infant formula and safety risks particularly at the workplace (Ontario Public Health Association and Frontier College, 1990).

However, these impacts represent just the tip of the iceberg. The major impact of illiteracy on health status occurs indirectly. In an effort to change this situation, adult and health educators have been working closer together to ensure that citizens receive, understand, and are able to use information related to health and safety. As Mintz and Steele (1992) point out health information is of no practical value unless it reaches the hands of those who can use it - in other words it must be marketed effectively. If equitable access to information is the foundation of health promotion strategies, then these strategies must be analyzed in terms of the social and cultural realities.

This symposium is an opportunity for members of three professional adult education associations to exchange research ideas and practices on a common area of interest - literacy for health. From a Canadian and Caribbean perspective, the social and cultural realities will be discussed with a focus on how to make health promotion materials more relevant to all members of a community. It is a first opportunity for the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE), the Caribbean Regional Council for Adult Education (CARCAE) and the Commonwealth Association for the Education and Training of Adults (CAETA) to initiate a new linkage for integrating literacy, health and human development.

Literacy and Health Promotion - Cora Hinds

There is growing evidence that low literacy abilities in individuals has a major negative effect on health status. Studies undertaken conjointly by the Ontario Public Health Association and Frontier College (1989, 1990) showed that people with reading problems are also more likely to have health problems. The Southam Literacy Report (1987) puts the proportion of both Ontarians and Canadians who are functionally illiterate at 24 per cent. According to UNESCO guidelines, being functionally illiterate is the equivalent of having less than a grade nine education. Using this criterion, approximately 19 per cent of Ontarians and 20 per cent of Canadians are functionally illiterate. Statistics Canada Report (1990), A Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities, found a staggering 38 per cent of Canadians, almost two out of every five adult Canadians cannot read all the information they may encounter in their daily lives. Of these, 16 per cent (2.9 million) do not read well enough to deal with most of the written material they come across in everyday life (Statistics Canada, 1990). This section of the symposium will explore the access to health promotion information by people with low literacy skills and examine some strategies which are aimed at addressing these inequities in the adult population.

Health Information and the Literacy Problem. Current evidence suggests that a disparity exists between the reading levels of health care consumers and the estimates of readability of health education literature. Health education is a process whose purpose is to inform, motivate and help the population to adopt and maintain healthy habits and which promotes the environmental change needed to facilitate acquisition of those habits (Somers, 1976). A joint project by the Ontario Public Health Association and Frontier College (1989, 1990), found that health information is hard to read. People who cannot read well have a hard time getting the information they need, hence, they are barred from most public information about maintaining health and preventing illness. Health educators rely heavily on printed materials to communicate health messages. However, the majority of health education information material is written by skilled readers for skilled readers (Meade & Byrd, 1989). Davis et al., (1990) found that most written health education material required average reading comprehension grade levels of 11th to 14th. This means that people with lower reading skills are denied full access to information found on food packages, instructions for prescriptions, birth control methods, self-care practices, and information about health and safety, their own and that of their family.

The ability to read influences one's understanding and interpretation of meaning as well as one's thoughts, perceptions, and ability to analyze instructions (Meade, et al., 1992). If a person can assimilate and comprehend the information, action is more likely to occur (Hussey & Gilliland, 1989). Today's health care consumers are confronted with multiple and varied documents, such as, patient education brochures, consent forms, medication or activity instruction sheets, insurance forms and the like (Meade & Smith, 1991). Written words that cannot be read nor comprehended decrease an individual's ability to make informed health decisions.

Health Promotion Efforts in Canada. World Health Organization defines health promotion as "a process of enabling people to increase control over their health". In Canada, the new health promotion approach is embodied in the document "Achieving Health for All: A Framework for Health Promotion" (Epp, 1986). This framework consists of three elements, namely: the Health Challenges; Health Promotion Mechanisms; and the Implementation Strategies aimed at overcoming them. The linkages among these three components of the framework are interrelated and cannot be studied in isolation. However, this visionary document has lead to new thinking. Tanguay (1988/89), for example, describes a concept of health promotion which uses the science of marketing as an analytical framework for determining how particular objectives may be accomplished. Using this approach the individual's personality, values, culture and reference group can be identified, thus permitting a better understanding of factors that influence and condition that individual. This approach will in turn enable effective targeting of audience needs, such as, the need for access to readable and understandable health promotion information.

Health education has long been the paradigm for health promotion. However, most health communication material comes in written form, making it virtually inaccessible to people with limited literacy skills (Perrin, 1989). To be effective, health communication must be appropriate for those for whom it is intended. It is only by making people's environment an integral part of the learning process that health education's role in promoting health will become more effective. Current approaches to health promotion, will require a high degree of cooperation and collaboration among agencies, organizations, disciplines, and the target group to be served -- people with low literacy skills.

Strategies to Address the Problem. The health community has already taken some steps to produce information that is readable by the consuming public. However, more needs to be done. One of the presenters (Hinds), conducted readability estimates of samples of text selected at random from four commonly distributed health promotion pamphlets and found reading levels which ranged from grade 9 to grade 13. The Flesch-Kincaid readability formula, a software computer package within Grammatik IV, was used in the assessment. These pamphlets included: Facts on Snacks; immunization; the pill; and Hepatitis B. This finding reinforces the seriousness of the literacy problem in health promotion.

People with low reading skills have developed ways of concealing their illiteracy. Therefore, practitioners working with this target group must be aware and able to recognize cues which suggest when illiteracy might be a factor in individuals' not engaging in health promotive behaviours. Written material used in pamphlets, booklets and brochures must be kept simple and pre-tested for comprehension in the group for which it is intended. Printed materials are only useful when they can be comprehended. Literacy which is a relative term, depends on a complex of personal and social factors, including culture and familiarity with the subject of the written material (Breen, 1992).

Considering the cultural diversity of the Canadian population, practitioners working with persons who have low reading skills should begin to rely less on print material for communicating health messages. Instead, they should consider using other media, such as, audiotapes, videotapes, and illustrations which are easily comprehensible by target audiences of different cultural orientation.

Communicating effectively with people with low reading skills is a challenge which must be addressed if all peoples whatever their culture or creed are to have improved access to health information which will facilitate their making informed decisions about their health and health care. Since the goal of health promotion is to encourage people to make healthy choices and to adopt healthy behaviours, people who are incapable of making full use of written material because of poor reading skills will be denied opportunities to make positive health choices. Finally, the framework for health promotion conceived by Epp (1986), is both a concept and a process. As a process health promotion remains very much in an emergent state (Rootman, 1988). Hence, linkages which encourage cooperation and collaboration among a wide range of organizations at the international, national, and local levels must be fostered. More research into the effectiveness of strategies for working with persons of limited reading skills is a priority.

The Caribbean Experience - Patricia Rodney

The presentation serves to locate health education, health promotion strategies, and literacy within a framework that shows the development of the health and education systems in the English Caribbean. The models presently used in both sectors have all emerged out of a historical, cultural and ideological context and has given shape to much of what there is now.

Literacy Situation. Illiteracy has not been and is not seen as a serious problem in the Caribbean as it is in some other parts of the developing world. Barbados has for many years had an impressive record of a 98% literacy rate. However, this was never substantiated by formal statistics. By the 1960's illiteracy was no longer a problem in Trinidad and Tobago and the illiteracy rate in Nevis was only 2.3% (Robinson, 1987).

However, problems of illiteracy of varying degrees did exist in other islands of the Region. During the 1960's the estimated illiteracy rate for Jamaica was just under 50%, in Dominica 30% and in St. Lucia 13.5% with a functionally illiteracy rate (less than five years of primary schooling) of 46.5% (Ellis, 1983). In Jamaica in 1980 the illiteracy rate had increased by 15% (65% for men and 76% for women) despite literacy interventions by government and non-governmental agencies. In the case of Dominica and St. Lucia, the large percentage of those with literacy problems are found predominantly among the large number of Creole-speaking and Patios people (Ellis, 1983). In spite of the overall picture of comparatively low illiteracy rates, there has been in recent years a recognition that illiteracy is on the increase among a large sector of school leavers.

Health Education Programs in the Caribbean. The purpose of the health education and communication strategies for the Americas as stated in Health Conditions of the Americas (1990) "is to provide knowledge, motivation, and skills to enable people to select intelligently from various options, and to recognise the consequences of their choice". Another purpose is to help people understand how they can tap into resources that will facilitate following through with the options and actions selected, as well as to develop an environment that will support these choices. However, because the disciplines of health education and health promotion are fairly new to the Caribbean they are still at a disadvantage in dealing with health consumers who have become used to an orthodox prescriptive medical model which inhibits participation. The World Health Organization in 1981 set the stage for a new approach to health and health education through its document "Global Strategy for Health for All by the Year 2000". The three underlying principles - equity in health, intersectoral collaboration, and community participation.

Present Situation. Recently there has been a growing awareness within the Region of the relationship among the health status of citizens, educational levels, and the ways and conditions of living. Appreciation of these relationships have been gaining momentum as lifestyle-related health problems have become the dominant causes of death and disability in the Region. Recognition of the adverse implications of these problems for the health sector, human potential, productivity, and national development has also encouraged rethinking and an expansion of current approaches to health.

Intersectoral Links. These growing concerns have helped to foster interest in the Region in the concept of health promotion as a means of opening additional avenues to address the wide range of issues now affecting the health of Caribbean people. As a strategy, it views the improvement of health as a shared responsibility of all citizens.

the health services, community organizations as well as other productive and social sectors (i.e. education), both public and private. However, this concept has not been translated into action. As a consequence intersectoral links have remained weak. For example, at the local level collaboration between Ministries of Education, Health and Community Development are rare. The development of health education materials have been left mainly to medical practitioners who are not trained health educators and, therefore, continue to produce information that is often mechanistic and prescriptive. This is very evident in some of the recent TV messages produced on AIDS. This lack of intersectoral collaboration is also evident in other health promotion literature which is being designed to reach the community people. The material in effect is designed and written for people who do not have low literacy skills.

Exploration of Alternatives. The presentation seeks to explore some of the reasons why the health education and health promotion information have not reached sectors of the population that are most in need of them. Is it mainly the lack of ability to read and comprehend information? or is the problem one of a lack of consciousness of the message creators/bearers of the socio-economic, political and cultural realities of working peoples? If literacy and health promotion are to be meaningful tools in the advancement of peoples they must be part of a broader process against social inequalities.

……

Threaded through both the Canadian and Caribbean experience in the promotion of health information for all citizens, there appears to be three common issues. The first issue is related to the fact that health education and health promotion for people with low literacy skills needs to become an integral part of the environment where people live. Whether printed health materials are for young adult school leavers or senior citizens with reading problems, the marketing process should be client-driven. This simply means that developing materials should begin with an analysis of the client needs. This determines how the resulting in health education materials will be packaged, promoted, and distributed. In the area of health information, ensuring that the product has the desired attributes means determining how to present the information. The only way to do this effectively is to consult with the representatives of the client group, for example, the young mother visiting the village health clinic or the dislocated factory worker in a literacy training program. As Breen (1992) suggests preparing print materials for adults with reading problems involves three key steps: understanding your target audience, adapting your writing style, and learning the principles of clear writing.

A second issue raised in both the Canadian and Caribbean experience is an emphasis on considering other types of media for communicating health messages rather than relying on printed material. For example, in Canadian prisons, inmates favoured a video format for information with respect to AIDS, and endorsed the idea of a demonstration on how to clean injection needles (John Howard Society of Metropolitain Toronto, 1992). In a similar vein, Chikara (1991) points out that for most people in developing nations, radio is the primary link with the rest of the world. What people hear on radio powerfully influences what they talk about, what they think, what they buy, and how they behave. Radio offers important opportunities for health programs such as broadening and sustaining people's interest in family planning; reaching new audiences such as men and young people who rarely come to health centres; letting people know where they can find supplies and services, and countering rumours and information about contraceptive methods, to name a few.

A third issue mentioned in the presentations deals with the need for greater cooperation among public, private, and community organizations in promoting health information to all citizens including those adults with low literacy skills. As suggested by the Ontario Public Health Association and Frontier College (1990, p. 50-52) organizations involved in health and health-related matters must individually and jointly: analyze on an ongoing basis the effectiveness of the way information is distributed within and outside the organization; review and develop organizational policies and practices which ensure greater access to health-related information by people with low literacy skills; involve the users of information in a process of reviewing and developing information content as well as the design, production, distribution, and evaluation procedures; and provide financial incentives to organizations which attempt to make information more accessible to citizens who have low literacy skills. How well we are performing these responsibilities seems to be an area requiring further discussion.

In an effort to describe the current social and cultural realities in Canada and the Caribbean on the topic of literacy for health and human development, a number of common issues have emerged. As frameworks for health promotion around the world are translated into national and local action plans, there is an urgent call for professional adult education associations like CASAE, CARCAE, and CAETA to form partnerships in order to articulate the training and research needs required to meet the goal of "Health for All by Year 2000".

References

Breen, M. (1992). Writing for your audience. Is there a magic formula? Health Promotion, 31(1), 2-6.

Chikara, F. (1991). The role of mass media in adult health education. In M. Matshazi (Ed.), Education and Training for Participation in Health. Harare, Zimbabwe.

Davis, T., Crouch, M., Wills, G., Miller, S., & Abdehou, D. (1990). The gap between patient reading comprehension and the readability of patient education materials. Journal of Family Practice, 31, 533-539.

Ellis, P. (1983). Adult education and literacy in the Caribbean. Report presented to an International Seminar in Berlin, organized by DSE and ICAE.

Epp, J. (1986). Achieving health for all: A framework for health promotion. Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.

Hussey, L., & Gilliland, K. (1989). Compliance, low literacy and locus of control, Nursing Clinics of North America, 24, 605-611.

John Howard Society of Metropolitain Toronto. (1992). Prisoners and AIDS: AIDS education needs assessment. Toronto: Canadian Public Health Association.

Jules, D. (1987). Building a national movement: The Caribbean experience. In Literacy in industrialized countries: A focus on practice. ICAE, 47-49.

Meade, C., Diekmann, J., & Thornhill, D. (1992). Readability of American Cancer Society patient education literature. Oncology Nursing Forum, 19(1), 51-55.

Meade, C., & Smith, C. (1991). Readability formulas: Cautions and criteria. Patient Education and Counseling, 17, 153-158.

Meade, C., & Byrd, J. (1989). Patient literacy and the readability of smoking education literature. American Journal of Public Health, 79(2), 204-206.

Mintz, J., & Steele, M. (1992). Marketing health information. Health Promotion, 31(2), 2-6.

Ontario Public Health Association and Frontier College. (1990). The literacy and health project phase one: Making the world healthier and safer for people who can't read: Research Report. Toronto: Ontario Public Health Association.

Ontario Public Health Association and Frontier College. (1989). The literacy and health project phase one: Making the world healthier and safer for people who can't read. Toronto: Ontario Public Health Association and Frontier College.

Pan American Health Organization. (1990). Health conditions of the Americas, Volume 11, Washington, DC.

Perrin, B. (1989). Literacy and health: Making the connection. Health Promotion, 31(1), 2-6.

Robinson, J. (1987). The literacy situation in the Caribbean. Report presented to First Meeting of the International Task Force on Literacy.

Rodney, P. (1991). Women's literacy: Whose responsibility? (Unpublished paper).

Rootman, I. (1988). Knowledge development: A challenge for health promotion. Health Promotion, 27(2), 2-4.

Somers, A. (1976). Preventive medicine USA. In A. Somers (Ed.), Health promotion and consumer health education. New York: Prodist.

Statistics Canada. (1990). A survey of literacy skills used in daily activities. Ottawa: Canada.

Tanguay, C. (1988/89). Planning health promotion: The marketing-communication approach. Health Promotion, 27(3), 13-16.

The Creative Research Group Ltd. (1987). Literacy in Canada. Ottawa: Southam News.

UNESCO. (1985). The right to learn. Declaration of the Fourth UNESCO Conference on Adult Education, Paris.

CANADIAN PLURALISM AND DUTCH "PILLARISATION"

PART 2: A CANADIAN VIEW

presented to

THE ANNUAL MEETING

of the

Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education

at the meetings of

The Learned Societies
Ottawa

June 1993

by

Alan M.Thomas
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
Toronto

CANADIAN PLURALISM AND DUTCH "PILLARISATION"

PART 2: A CANADIAN VIEW

Alan M.Thomas
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Abstract

"Pillarisation" was a method used for organizing Dutch society for nearly half a century. It allowed the relatively peaceful co-existence of rival "ideologies" within a governable society by encouraging the clustering of services, expectations, even careers, around the four major pillars. Since the mid-nineteen-seventies fissures have appeared in the pillars, leading to the gradual abandonment of not only the particular pillars, but of pillarisation itself. In particular immigration to Holland has played a major role in the decline and arguments for and against "re-pillarisation" are carried out against a familiar background of arguments about multi-culturalism. Could some form of pillarisation be usefully adapted to Canadian society? While the inclusion of adult education services within each pillar seems to have been sensible and effective, what were and might be, in the case of Canada, the learning dynamics? The following paper is devoted to that analysis.

Résume

"Pillarisation" était la méthode d'organisation de la société Nederlandaise pendant le plus de la derniére demi-siècle. Il a permis le coexistence, paisible normallement, des idèologies concourantes dans une société gouvernable en grouper des services, des attentes, des carriéres mêmes autour des quatres "pillars" principaux. Des fissures a apparu depuis approximativement 1980, partiellement à cause d'immigration. Le "pillarisation", explique-t-il l'organization de la société Canadienne avec les deux grandes "pillars", Francais et Anglais? Apparait-ils les mêmes fissures dans le "pillarisation" Canadiennes, a cause de le même circonstance—l'immigration? Quelles implications existent pour les dynamiques de l'apprentissage et l'education des adultes en Canada?

1.

Professor Van Gent's presentation effectively lays out the history, associated functions, and arguments, surrounding the rise and decline of "pillarisation" in the Netherlands. One might note at this point the distinction between two kinds of arguments arising from the situation he describes; first whether change ought to be in the form of reorganizing the traditional pillars, for example the addition of an Islamic pillar to match the existing "Christian" pillar; and second whether pillarisation itself remains a useful social device, and if not, what should replace it.

A recent visit to the Netherlands, thanks to the generosity of Professor Van Gent and the Dutch-Canadian Studies Association, revealed to me, that a certain nostalgia for the security and simplicity of pillars understandably remains in Dutch society, to the extent that something like "horizontal" as distinct from vertical pillars is being seriously considered.

All of the arguments, with the exception of the missing element of language, swirling around pillarisation, are familiar enough to Canadians. The current arguments against forms of multi-culturalism are reflected neatly by the statement that; "if everyone's cultural identity is allowed to remain intact, integration will suffer" (Bolkestein, 1991, p. 9). The echoes of opposition to Federal legislation encouraging multi-culturalism in Canada, may serve as a stimulus to Canadians to understand the significance of our multi-cultural efforts. Older, non-immigrant societies, to whom we have often looked for images of "identity" and its preservation, are now looking to us for models of reasonable solutions to the problems of the huge contemporary movements of people in the world.

The image of the four primary Dutch pillars firmly supporting the portico of the Dutch government, indeed the state, reminds one of the UNESCO logo, treasured for nearly half a century. Without wishing to overdo the comparison, the question that immediately present itself concerns the spaces between the pillars. Presumably in the UNESCO design, they, the spaces, are meant for the light and space necessary for human exchange, in fact for the very freedom of association to which Professor Van Gent refers as the basis for pillarisation, and which we know is the principal foundation for all human learning. In the Dutch version, the function played by the space between the pillars seems intended to act as insulation, as between two sheets of glass, in order to minimize exchanges and learning between the individual members of the major groups except as they meet with each other formally at the level of governance. Therefore the significance of the space is minimized, and becomes vital only when pillarisation is breaking down, as it seems to have in the past twenty years.

Prices have to be paid for social peace and justice. In the Dutch case one can argue that the price was the vitality and imagination, and disorder, that results from maximizing the number of points for exchange between difference. How much of that turbulence any society can stand and still remain a society is one of the prevailing and endemic questions.

2.

Historically the Canadian state has rested on two pillars, separated from each other by language, ancestral history, and, unlike the Dutch pillars, geography. One can argue that the first and last of these factors made the space between the Canadian pillars even more barren than was the case in the Netherlands.

The existence of these two pillars from the very beginning of Canada made it impossible to develop a single, unified image of citizenship, in the way that the "American" image was developed and utilized during the past two centuries. Thus some form of multi-culturalism has been present in Canada since its founding, even though it was only given formal legislative expression in the nineteen-seventies. However prior to that date the multi-culturalism practised was seen largely as a means to strengthening the primary two pillars rather than dismantling them, though, it is true as late a 1940 there was view in English-speaking Canada that French-speaking Canada must eventually disappear and be incorporated into one English-speaking nation. However, the Canadian version of pillarisation proved to be too powerful. Exchange within the French-speaking pillar, learning that reinforced a sense of identity and citizenship was greater than exchanges across it boundaries, despite the "English-speaking sea" of North America.

Immigration, which seems to have come as something of a surprise to the hitherto ethnically cohesive societies of northern Europe in particular, has been a constant in Canadian life since our beginning. However, until recently, we have not very clearly understood its impact on our brand of pillarisation. The patterns of immigration to and settlement in Canada since 1950 are familiar to everyone. Two factors stand out. First that the sources of peoples have shifted relentlessly from the historic sources of northern Europe to southern and eastern areas of the world, making more learning between cultures necessary; and second the bulk of the immigration has settled outside of the province of Quebec, most prominently in Ontario. The impact has been that one of the founding pillars, the English-speaking one has been radically altered internally. The best formulation of that alteration can be found in the work of Edward Hall in his distinction between "high-context and low-context cultures" (Hall, 1985). In the high context culture little has to be learned from other members since so much can be taken for granted. In the low context culture,everything has to be explained constantly since nothing can be taken for granted.

Thus between 1950 and 1990 English-speaking Canada has become progressively a low-context culture, with elements opposed to multi-culturalism clinging to an ideal of high-context, while Quebec has remained a relatively high-context culture with every intention of maintaining that state. The old two pillar construction became composed of two structurally different pillars. It is not clear to this moment whether they can shoulder a single state.

In English-speaking Canada since the formal legitimization of multi-culturalism there have been signs of new pillars or sub-pillars emerging. The clearest example is the emergence of the powerful aboriginal voice, which like Quebec, bases it claims on land, and language, though unlike Quebec, also on racial origin.

The last point raises a more profound issue. What does membership in a pillar imply? Does one achieve it by birth, and is there little chance of finding identity or a satisfactory life outside of the original pillar or outside of any pillar at all? The evidence from the Netherlands is not entirely clear to me on that point, though it seems clear that the original pillars have disintegrated without bloodshed or sufficient turmoil to destroy the society and the basis for reasonable governance.

3.

The more aggressive multi-culturalism of the past twenty years has produced profound challenges to Canadian society. Obviously there has been sufficient learning within the so-called "ethnic groups" to produce original cultural developments. Italians and Ukrainians have produced cultures that are products of origin and living circumstances, that is genuine Italian-Canadian and Ukrainian-Canadian artistic achievements. Probably there are many more from other designations than any of us know of.

The evidence of learning is widespread. The results associated with adult education are more difficult to determine. While the larger ethnic concentrations have managed many adult education agencies of their own, unlike in the Netherlands, there have been larger agencies funded by the Canadian state, associated with the dominant pillars that have offered competition. Assimilative forces, mainly economic in character need also to be considered. For example, COSTI-IIAS Immigrant Services is an organization begun within the Italian community that now offers services to immigrants of all origins and circumstances.

As the world seems to be moving in two directions at once—first to larger and larger economic groupings, which despite the claims of new more personal human management, still seem distant, impersonal and one-dimensional—second to smaller, more personal, more intimate association, frequently based on language, culture or ethnic identity—which can mean a lot of things. The non-humanness of the economic groupings is matched by some not always attractive very human characteristics in the alternatives,of which Jugoslavia, or what's left of it is the saddest example. Pillarisation seems to represent a quest for high-context culture and the learning associated with it. We are likely to see more movement in that direction in Canada, but it is the space in between to which we must pay attention. It is there perhaps that self-conscious adult education needs to be directed with all the skill and sensitivity we can manage.

References

Bolkestein, F. (1991) "Islamitische immigranten moeten integreren". NRC Handelsblad, January 10, 1992, p. 9.

Deutsch, K. (1953) Nationalism and Social Communication. New York: The Technology Press (MIT) and John Wiley & Sons.

Hall, E. (1985) "Unstated Features of the Cultural Context of Learning", in A. Thomas and E. Ploman (Eds), Learning and Development: A Global Perspective. Toronto, Ontario: OISE Press.

Porter, J. (1966) The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto, Ontario: Toronto University of Toronto Press.

Van Gent, B. (1993) Dutch "Pillarisation": A Strategy for Multicultural Adult Education, Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education, Annual Conference, 1993.

ANALYSE PRELIMINAIRE DES ECRITS SUR L'AUTOFORMATION EN ENTREPRISE (1984-1992)

Tremblay, N.A., Hrimech, M., Cantin, H., Lauzon N., et Madgin L.

Résumé: L'analyse des écrits sur l'autoformation et le travail indique que la recherche est éparse, fragmentaire et à peine ébauchée. Il semble donc qu'il n'existe pas d'instruments valides qui permettraient une recherche systématique des données. Cependant, certaines études européennes et américaines s'avèrent prometteuses tant pour les méthodologies proposées que pour les premiers résultats présentés.

Abstract: A preliminary analysis of the literature on self-directed learning and the workplace shows that research is fragmentary and sparse. Systematic study is hampered by the lack of validated instruments. Nevertheless, a number of studies in the U.S.A. and Europe report noteworthy methodologies and fresh results.

Contexte: Cette recension des écrits s'inscrit dans le cadre des travaux du groupe interdisciplinaire de recherche sur l'autoformation et le travail (G.I.R.A.T.). Le G.I.R.A.T. a été créé en 1991 par des chercheurs de quatre universités canadiennes dans le but d'étudier les politiques et les pratiques de formation en entreprise. Leurs recherches tentent plus particulièrement d'étudier les politiques et les pratiques de formation établies par les entreprises (n:23) d'une part, et les pratiques d'autoformation utilisées par les employés de ces entreprises, d'autre part.

But: Le but de cette étude est de tracer un premier portrait de l'état de la recherche et des expériences dans le domaine de l'autoformation au travail. Les recherches identifiées comme importantes en rapport avec des dimensions de notre projet feront éventuellement l'objet d'une analyse plus approfondie.

Méthodologie: Les bases de données américaines ERIC, ABI-Inform et Dissertation Abstract International ont été répertoriées ainsi que QUESTEL en France; cette dernière présentant peu ou pas d'écrits en lien avec l'autoformation, elle ne sera donc pas présentée ici. Les mots-clés utilisés et le nombre d'écrits s'y rapportant apparaissent au tableau suivant. Parce que le projet de recherche du G.I.R.A.T. prévoit une phase de cueillette d'informations auprès des entreprises, les sondages et les questionnaires contenus dans ABI et ERIC ont été traités comme s'il s'agissait d'une base indépendante.

Les écrits recensés ont d'abord été codifiés selon neuf rubriques (cf. Tableau 1). Pour les fins de la présente étude, n'ont été conservés que les écrits qui avaient un lien direct avec le projet de recherche. Le tableau 1 indique le nombre d'articles retenus dans chaque base de données selon les rubriques utilisées.

Tableau 1: Nombre d'articles retenus par rubriques pour les bases inventoriées.

Mot-Clé	**Eric**	**ABI**	**DAI**	**Sondages**
SDL.	51	11	65	30
O.T.J. Train.	39	17	69	24
Exper. Learn	16	---	25	---
Inform. tr.	14	---	9	---
Inserv. tr.	---	4	---	8
Manager. tr.	---	12	18	---
Incident. le.	3	---	---	---
Indust. tr.	---	---	---	6
Survey	---	---	---	---
Total	123	44	186	68

Description des écrits: Les écrits retenus dans chaque base de données seront d'abord décrits. Une courte analyse suivra en conclusion de cet article.

ERIC: Les grands thèmes abordés par les auteurs concernent les changements technologiques et les méthodes d'apprentissage, ainsi que les orientations et les politiques gouvernementales en matière de formation. Les articles traitent surtout de la grande entreprise et quelques articles en provenance d'Europe relatent les expériences qui ont cours dans la petite entreprise. Les clientèles les plus étudiées sont les cadres (un peu plus de 50%). Les personnels de service et de production sont étudiés dans une proportion moindre (25% chacun). Dans 60% des écrits, les auteurs ont surtout procédé à des rapports d'expériences pratiques et, dans une moindre mesure, ils ont présenté une discussion (30%) ou une étude de type expérimental (10%).

Les tendances générales qui se dégagent du premier inventaire des écrits de la base ERIC s'articulent autour des thèmes suivants: le partenariat et les politiques de formation, l'éducation aux affaires internationales, l'enseignement corporatiste (corporate education) et les coûts de formation. Les diverses formes que peut prendre le partenariat sont abondamment et systématiquement étudiées par le *Centre européen pour le développement de la formation au travail* (Berlin). Dans ce cadre, différents travaux européens apportent des informations précieuses pour le contexte nord-américain. Citons les travaux de Mason et Russell (1987) sur la formation au Royaume-Uni, ceux de Iribarne et Lemaître (1987) sur le partenariat en France, les études sur la formation dans les petites entreprises au Royaume-Uni (Dey et Harrison; 1988) , en France (Rennard et Weygand; 1988), en Italie (Iribarne et Lemaître; 1987) et en Irlande (Office du travail de Genève; 1986). Les auteurs apportent aussi des instruments d'étude susceptibles d'aider à systématiser la recherche dans le domaine.

L'éducation aux affaires internationales (international education) se présente comme un nouveau concept dans le champ de la formation en entreprise. Deux études majeures, celle de Zimpfer et Underwood

(1988) auprès de trois grandes multinationales et celle de Kobrin (1984) auprès de 126 grandes entreprises ouvrent peut-être la voie à un nouveau sous-domaine de recherche. La notion d'enseignement ou d'apprentissage corporatiste est également présente chez plusieurs auteurs (Dauwalder; 1985, Corder; 1989, Clemmenson; 1985 et Eurich; 1985). Enfin, le Training Benefit Forcasting Method-TBFM s'avère pertinent dans l'étude financière des impacts de l'autoformation. C'est ce que tendraient à prouver les études de Prifrel *et al.* (1985) et de Geroy (1984).

ABI-Inform: Les écrits recensés dans cette base concernent très souvent la formation sur les lieux de travail sans distinction entre les processus formel et informel. Le plus souvent, soit 40% du temps, il s'agit de descriptions d'expériences ou de recherches de type expérimental et moins souvent de discussions sur la formation (16%).

Les problématiques le plus souvent présentées ont trait à l'utilisation de nouveaux outils et de nouvelles méthodes de formation. Ainsi, Reason (1989) étudie l'utilisation de l'ordinateur/simulateur par l'industrie nucléaire, Sateren et Boyd (1989) s'intéressent à l'utilisation d'un vidéodisque interactif en formation médicale continue et Lee (1989) rend compte d'une expérience de centre d'apprentissage pour le personnel infirmier. Certains auteurs,(Golde; 1987, Rothwell et Kazanas; 1990) se sont penchés sur les bénéfices de la formation informelle pour en déduire qu'elle réduit le temps de formation, qu'elle diminue la rotation du personnel et qu'elle améliore le moral des employés. A cet égard, Rothwell et Kazanas estiment que l'autoformation représenterait de 90 à 180 milliards de dollars chaque année aux Etats-Unis, jusqu'à six fois plus qu'il ne se dépense pour la formation traditionnelle.

DAI: Dans cette base de données, 88 thèses ont été retenues et peuvent être regroupées dans les catégories suivantes: les stratégies d'apprentissage, les politiques de formation, l'utilisation de concepts andragogiques, le partenariat et les synthèses d'écrits. Comme dans le cas d'Eric et d'ABI, ce sont les populations de cadre et d'administrateurs qui sont le plus étudiées (plus de 50 %).

Les stratégies d'apprentissage les plus étudiées sont le co-apprentissage, l'apprentissage sur les lieux de travail, le mentoring, les projets autodidactes ou encore les stratégies liées à l'interface homme/machine. La présence d'une douzaine de thèses sur l'utilisation de concepts andragogiques est due à un courant de recherches amorcé par Betterman, Yakowicz et Fey, à l'Université de Columbia. A ce jour, ces recherches indiquent que le support de la part de la direction serait le principal facteur qui facilite l'autoformation. Les chercheurs constatent également l'importance des réseaux de communication pour le développement de l'apprentissage informel.

Le partenariat a fait l'objet de quelques recherches (Traina;

1989, Zielinsky; 1989 et Neveu; 1989). Traina montre que les modèles prévalents linéaires et séquentiels ne correspondent pas à la réalité de la formation au travail mais que les modèles expérientiels comme celui de Shôn semblent plus pertinents. Zielinsky propose de former des généralistes capables de s'adapter au changement et de développer des compétences spécifiques dans la communication, le travail en équipe et l'exercice de l'esprit critique.

D'autres thèses ont utilisé les modèles d'évaluation de Kirkpatrick et Stufflebeam (Baten; 1991 et Schoch; 1990). Même si ces thèses ne traitent pas toujours directement d'autoformation, elles fournissent des paramètres utiles pour en étudier les manifestations. Enfin, il existe deux thèses (Mc Cune; 1988 et Duncan) qui font une synthèse d'écrits sur l'autodirection. Mc Cune propose une méta-analyse statistique du SDLRS de Guglielmino. Duncan, pour sa part, tente de dégager un cadre-consensus des différents écrits répertoriés. Il ressort de l'analyse de Duncan, qui s'est inspiré du cadre de McKenzie, que les trois-quarts des articles traitent de motivation et de leadership alors qu'un peu plus de la moitié traite du changement et de la communication.

Sondages: Pour les fins de la présente étude, n'ont été retenus que les écrits qui ont utilisé un instrument systématique d'enquête auprès d'une population donnée. Certains sondages ont utilisé le questionnaire, d'autres des entrevues, d'autres la méthode des cas alors que plusieurs ont utilisé divers tests en lien avec le SDLRS. Des corrélations positives sont observées entre l'autodirection et la créativité, l'accomplissement de soi l'avancement de la candidature académique, le nombre de projets autodidactes. Les résultats les plus prometteurs proviennent sans doute des recherches de Columbia (cf. synthèse précédente de D.A.I.). On y indique que les principes qui semblent valorisés par plusieurs entreprises sont, entre autres, le respect de l'apprenant et de son expérience et l'utilisation d'approches collaboratives et participatives. Les principes d'"empowerment", de pensée critique, d'apprentissage pour l'action et d'autoformation semblent être moins valorisés.

Conclusion: Bien que l'autoformation fasse désormais partie intégrante des discours sur l'avenir de la formation en entreprise, la recherche reste éparse et fragmentaire et n'en est qu'à sa phase exploratoire. Quelques projets cependant, principalement ceux qui nous parviennent d'Europe, laquelle possède une expertise importante, semblent prometteurs pour la recherche tant à cause de la méthode générale d'enquête qu'on y propose qu'en vertu des résultats de l'évaluation du partenariat qui y est faite. Les écrits révèlent également l'absence d'instruments valides de collecte d'informations auprès des travailleurs de l'entreprise. Ce qui existe a souvent été conçu pour servir de "coup de sonde" maison auprès d'un groupe spécifique d'employés. De plus, le grand nombre d'études portant sur les cadres laisse dans l'ombre la majorité des travailleurs et ne peut donc prétendre à une description exhaustive de la situation.

REFERENCES

BATEN, C.C. (1991). Multidimensional evaluation of corporate education programs: a descriptive case study. Thèse de doctorat inédite. Université de Harvard.

CARNEVALE, A.P. (1986). The learning entreprise. *Training and Development Journal, 40,* 1, pp. 18 à 26.

CLEMMENSEN, D.R. et al. (1986). Business education: a diverse field. *NABTE Bulletin no: 107: Business Education Forum,* 39, 6, pp. 27 à 37.

CORDER, L.E. (1989). Survey report of presentation skills training in *Fortune 500* companies. Rapport inédit de l'état de Pennsylvanie, 16 p. (Réf.: ED 313742 in ERIC).

DAUWALDER, D.P. (1985). A ranking of major challenges facing business education by department chairpersons in NABTE-member institutions. *Delpa-Pi Epsilon Journal, 27,* 1, pp. 19 à 35.

DEY, I. et HARRISON, J. (1988). Distance education and training for small firms - United Kingdom. Document inédit du European center for the development of vocational training - Berlin (Allemagne de l'ouest), 122p. (Réf.: ED 316682 in ERIC).

DUNCAN, E.N. (1990). Organizations and management development of a framework for multiple perspectives. Thèse de doctorat inédite. Université de Pittsburg, (Réf.: AAC9019144 in DAI).

EURICH, N.P. (1985). *Corporate classrooms: the learning business.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 172 p.

GEROY, G.D. (1984). Validation of the training benefit forecasting methods: geometric dimension and tolerance training. Minnesota: Université du Minnesota: Training and development research center. Project no: 2, 70p.

GENEVE - Suisse International Labour Office (1986). Training implications of technological change in manufacturing in new industrial countries: the case of Ireland. Training policies: discussion paper no 14, 78 p. (Réf.: ED 309270 in ERIC).

IRIBARNE, A. et LEMAITRE, A. (1987). The role of unions and management in vocational training in France. Document inédit du European center for the development of vocational training - Berlin (Allemagne de l'ouest), 135 p. (Réf.: ED 316704 in ERIC).

KOBRIN, S.J. (1984). International expertise in American business; how to learn to play with the kids on the street. New York: lle research report (no. 6) (Réf.: ED 262675).

LEE, J.B. (1989). A hospital-based learning center. *Nursing Management, 20,* 2, pp. 74 à 78.

MASON, C. et RUSSELL, R. (1987). The role of social partners in vocational education and training in the United Kingdom. Document inédit du European center for the development of vocational training - Berlin (Allemagne de l'ouest), 394 p. (Réf.: ED 316709 in ERIC).

MC CUNE, S.K. (1988). A meta study of a duet self-direction: a review of the research from 1977 to 1987. Thèse de doctorat inédite. Texas: Université A & M.

NEVEU, F.R. (1989). Public-private partnerships: an analysis of private sector involvement in federal job training. Thèse de doctorat inédite. Université du Massachussetts. (Réf.: AAC 8917385 in DAI).

PRIFREL, R.J. et al. (1985). Forecasting the financial benefits of quality-based electronics manufacturing training. Université du Minnesota, Training and development research center: Project no: 8, 64 p.

REASON, J. (1989). On-the-job training goes on a desk top. *Electrical world, 203,* 1, pp. 46 à 48.

RENNARD, M. et WEYGAND, F. (1988). Distance learning for heads of firms and managerial staff in the small business sector in France. Document inédit du European center for the development of vocational training - Berlin (Allemagne de l'ouest), 149 p. (Réf.:ED 316683 in ERIC).

ROTHWELL, W.J. et KAZANAS, H.C. (1990). Planned OJT is productive OJT.*Training and Development Journal, 44,* 10, pp. 53- 56.

SATEREN, S.G. et BOYD, C. (1990). Community hospital embraces high-tech training. *Computers in Health Care, 11,* 8, pp. 17 à 21.

SCHOCH, K.W. (1990). A comparison of management development evaluation methods in selected healthcare institutions with a recognized educational evaluation model. Thèse de doctorat inédite. Université d'Indiana. (Réf.: AAC 9107528 in DAI).

TRAINA, L.J. (1989). Training by contract college basic program development practices in the field of corporate education: a qualitative study of theories in use. New York: Columbia Teachers College. (Réf.: AAC 8913139 in DAI).

ZIELENSKI, A. (1989). Liberal arts and corporate education perception of corporate and higher education representatives schools. Thèse de doctorat inédite. Université du Connecticut. (Réf.: AAC 9019374).

ZIMPFER, F. et UNDERWOOD, R. (1988). The status of international business communication training in the 100 largest multinational United States corporations. Indiana: Proceedings of the seventh annual eastern Michigan university conference on languages for business and the professions, 12 p.